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5 MAY 1987

USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 6, November-December 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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## ENGLISH SUMMARY OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 214-216

[Text] TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

R.A. ULYANOVSKY

The article characterizes main contradictions between imperialist and liberates countries and forms of imperialist exploitation of the developing world at the stage of the transnational neocolonialism. It is emphasised that the deeply antagonistic nature of these contradictions will be intensifying inevitably the revolutionary processes in the world. As a result of this the ever growing number of countries and peoples are bound to opt for the socialist orientation.

The article deals with conditions of a successful advance along these lines, difficulties of objective and subjective nature bearing relation to the socio-economic and cultural backwardness of liberated countries. It also analyses the ideological and political issues associated with the above-mentioned problems.

The article emphasises that the idea of a non-capitalist development oriented towards paving the way for socialism in countries, where conditions of the struggle for the socialist revolution are lacking, has withstood the test of time.

## EXTERNAL ECONOMIC FACTORS AND REPRODUCTION PROCESS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

N.N. PETROV

The growing importance of external economic factors in the economic development of liberated countries raises a number of issues regarding economic, social and political implications of this phenomenon. Taking the Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction and capital accumulation as a starting point, the article argues that in the post-colonial period the dependence of the reproduction process of developing countries on the external economic factors has significantly increased.



The colonial period was noted for the predominance of the subsistence economy and simple commodity production in the periphery of the world capitalist economy. As a rule, there were pockets within the structure of the latter that were connected with the external market. These ties had no bearing on the reproduction of the national product. The exploitation of colonies was based predominantly on the extra-economic coercion.

To solve cardinal asks facing them the liberated countries had to draw on external resources, for this was a sine qua non of the extended reproduction in the I and II divisions of the social product. This brought about a growing dependence of the developing world on the importation of technology, semi-finished products and spare parts. The failure to find a balance between export and import operations gave rise to a rapid growth of credit indebtedness.

The result of this was a manyfold increase in the scale of exploitation of human and natural resources of the liberated countries on the part of the TNCs. The rates of economic growth in the developing world and the cyclic nature of their reproduction have become to an ever growing degree subject to the economic situation in the imperialist centres. The crisis of the early 1980s is a case in point.

The growing internationalization of the economic activity produced to some extent an enhancing dependence of the extended reproduction of capital in industrial capitalist countries on the reproduction process in the periphery of the world capitalist economy. This dependence, however, does not bear relation to all developing countries. It concerns a small group of states which includes leading exporters of mineral resources and new industrializing states.

The radical social and economic transformations occurring in the developing countries, expansion of their multilateral cooperation and consolidation of their all-round ties with socialist countries can substantially diminish the dependence of the reproduction of these countries on the world capitalist economy.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION IN COUNTRIES OF TROPICAL AFRICA

N.M. TIMOFEYeva

The article identifies major trends of the higher education development in Tropical Africa with a special reference to Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda. It is emphasised that the government educational policy underlies the reform and development of higher education of these countries.

The higher education of the countries under discussion is noted for a rapid growth of both enrollment and number of educational establishments. National minorities and those living in far-away regions and rural areas enjoy better opportunities to get enrolled to colleges. On the whole, however, city-dwellers, by and large coming from well-to-do families, are in majority. Higher education is still a problem so far as women are concerned, particularly in regions where the general standard of culture is low. The

higher education today offers a wider range of subjects and specialisations, the curricula are attuned to African conditions. The number of natural science and science students shot up, nevertheless the portion of those specialising in humanities and social sciences is still very large.

The development of higher education entails its reorganisation. As a matter of fact, the concept of integrated higher education is being implemented. This implies the introduction of various systems of education. In conditions of poor educational facilities, dearth of qualified teachers and limited material resources this enabled the countries under review to concentrate on large-scale educational centres expanding thereby within a short space of time the training of national cadres.

Today, the development of education in Tropical Africa is distinguished by planning. Special services are being set up to take account of supply and demand of national cadres. Hence, although in Tropical Africa the higher education system was formed under the influence of Western models, objective demands of the present-day stage of social and political development are inducing the introduction of democratic changes.

#### MEDIEVAL MONGOLIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON INTERRELATION OF COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL ASIA

SH. BIRA

On the basis of factual data taken from Mongolian, Turk-language, Persian, Sanskrit and Tibetan sources the article examines the ties of the traditional Mongolian historiography with the historiographic traditions of the Central Asian countries.

It is noted that there is a common ethnic and cultural background in the historiographic traditions of the Mongolian and Turk-speaking peoples. Common topics, as reflected in legends and folk lore of these peoples, the Weltanschauung of shamans (e.g. Koke Tngri, or the Blue Sky worship of the Turks and Mongols) are evidence of this.

In the thirteenth century the Mongolian historiography enters into contacts with other developed historiographic traditions of the Central Asian region. Analyzing major historiographic works of the given period, Juvaini's "Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gushay" ("The History of the World Conqueror") and Rashid-al-Din's "Jami-'al-Tavarikh," the article touches upon the impact of the Mongolian historiography and sources on the Iranian historiography under the Il-Khans. The examination of the historiographic documents of the later period indicates the long-running intimate relationship between the Mongolian and other Central Asian historiographies. The legend about Alan-Goa, the progenitor of the Mongols, underlies the genealogy of rulers of many Central Asian countries intermingling with local legends and tales, it became finally a conservative political conception, according to which the Khan's or Sultan's power must belong to those who directly or indirectly were considered scions of the Chinghisides.

The Indo-Buddhist historical tradition, as testified by most of the Mongolian historical works, exerted a profound impact upon the Mongolian historiography. It affected in the main the philosophical aspects of the Mongolian historiography. As a rule, almost all Mongolian chronicles begin their narration from the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet. The religiously-minded Mongolians authors tried to substantiate not only the common religious background, but the "genetic" kinship of the Mongolian Khans with India, the cradle of Buddhism. The conception of three Buddhist monarchies (India, Tibet and Mongolia) is based on this. The Indo-Buddhist tradition, namely such satras as "Abhidharmakosa," "Abhiniskramana," etc. had a marked imprint upon the world conception of the Mongolian historians. Resorting to Buddhist cosmology, they tried to interpret such problems, as the genesis of the world, the emergence of man, society and state. The Buddhist political doctrine about Chakravartin-emperors was used to extol Mongolian Khans.

The analysis of the relationship of the Mongolian historiography with other historiographic traditions of the region gives a deeper insight into the cultural and religious history of the Central Asian countries.

#### TRADITIONAL ARTS AND THE HISTORY OF BAMBARA AND MOSSI (WESTERN SUDAN)

P.A. KUTSENKOV

The article is an attempt to use traditional arts as a new source in the study of Tropical Africa. Using traditional arts together with other sources of information, both written and oral, the article elucidates controversial aspects of the ethnogenesis of the Bambara and Mossi, two peoples of Western Sudan.

Analyzing the traditional Bambara art, the article reaches the conclusion that the main regional styles in the Bambara art (Beledugu, Segu, Buguni) characterize in the first instance different stages of the process of ethnogenesis.

The present stage of the traditional Bambara art confirms the assumption that the ethnogenesis of the Bambara proper began as early as the late seventeenth century within the Kingdom of Segu. Examining the Mossi art, the article suggests that its peculiar features confirm, in the whole, the data of the oral tradition regarding the establishment of early state formations of the Mossi.

On the strength of the conducted study the article comes to the following conclusions: the traditional art is capable of at least confirming the data of the oral tradition; the typology of arts is a clue to the social typology; the traditional art, as it is, is not of much value to the student of African history unless examined together with the data of written and oral traditions and vice-versa.

# RECONSTRUCTION OF IDEOLOGY WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PREHISTORIC CHINA

V.V. YEVSYUKOV

There is no doubt that the progress of the ancient Chinese civilization was based on the heritage of the preceding neolithic cultures. However, whereas the economy and artifacts of the Proto-Chinese of the Stone Age are fairly well examined, there are quite a few unresolved problems regarding their ideology.

The painted pottery of the Yangshao neolithic culture constitutes one of the major sources of information for the study of the world conception of the ancestors of the ancient Chinese. This pottery comes from the North and North-West China of the late fifth to third millennium B.C. The analysis of the Yangshao patterns demonstrates that the Yangshao people along with the worship of nature created an intricate mythology.

Although the Yangshao patterns were investigated by many scholars, not all their interpretations were flawless. This is accounted for by the lack of convincing theoretical substantiation of the deciphering of this kind. Unlike A. Laming-Emperaire and A. Leroi-Gourhan, the author believes that there is no reason to be overskeptical as regards the comprehensibility of the primitive art, for the cultures of the Stone Age and those of the later period are not worlds apart. The preference in the study of the ancient patterns is to be given to the analysis of the interpreting data. The process of deciphering will be thereby largely confined to the ascertainment of the meaning of a given myth. As to the patterns themselves, since they constitute an iconographic text, the rules of the analysis of mythological texts are applicable to them. Hence, it follows that there are some principles which are to be observed while deciphering prehistoric patterns.

The ornamentation of one of the bowls of the Majiayao period (the first half of the first millenium B.C.) is evidence to the fact that the Yangshao patterns can carry a great deal of information. The painted strokes of the bowl consist of two big groups, numbering 29 and 30 strokes respectively. Together with the figure of a frog, a symbol of the Moon in the ancient Chinese mythology, it allows to interpret this composition as a lunar calendar based on the alternation of months consisting of 20 and 30 days respectively.

Although not all the problems concerned can be considered resolved, it is clear that the Yangshao pottery is a unique document and deserves a thorough examination.

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## ULYANOVSKIY ON SOME PITFALLS ON PATH TO SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 3-13

[Article by R.A. Ulyanovskiy: "Topical Problems of the National-Liberation Movement and Socialist Orientation"]

[Excerpts] Imperialist exploitation of former colonies and dependent countries is continuing, although its forms are changing. The winning of independence did not put an end to oppression as such, but just to colonial forms of it, to direct robbery and the forced redistribution of wealth through the apparatus of colonial compulsion. They have today been replaced with unequal trade, usurious terms for the granting of financial, scientific, technical and other forms of assistance, and intervention by the national monopolies and multinational corporations in the life of the developing countries, leading to the extortion of colossal resources from them. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress emphasized that imperialism has succeeded in preserving the extant relations of economic dependence from the colonial era and creating on that basis a most refined system of neocolonial exploitation. (Footnote 1) (Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, pp 16-17.) This system brings hunger and poverty, deprivation and suffering, disease and illiteracy to hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and, at the same time, provides enormous profits for the imperialists. Neocolonialist exploitation has become an important source for the existence of international imperialism, a method for shaping the national income of the major capitalist states, a means of social maneuvering and easing the internal class contradictions and the bribery of some segments of the workers of the developed countries. Imperialism makes broad use of the international organizations under its control, such as the World Bank and the IMF, in its interest, which organizations, under the guise of aid to the developing countries in stabilizing their financial systems, assist in animating the world capitalist economy at the expense of the former colonies and semi-colonies, increasing the capital investments of Western firms in them and penetration by the multinational corporations. An indicator of the intensiveness of imperialist exploitation is the astronomical scale of the foreign debt of the developing countries to the capitalist West, today exceeding a trillion dollars. Remaining involved in the world capitalist economy as before, the developing countries have no rights in it, and they are linked to the imperialist states by relations of exploitation and submission.

Neocolonialism is not reduced to economic oppression. It is a complex system of political, military, ideological, economic, cultural and informational pressure and intervention. Its arsenal also includes means such as bribery and threats, international terrorism and shows of force, propaganda attacks, the creation of centers of aggression for mercenaries and bandits, and frequently even direct acts of aggression.

The interests of the developing and the imperialist countries are deeply antagonistic, and the objective contradictions among them are becoming steadily sharper. The issue is not only countries in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle. All of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are experiencing the increasing oppression of imperialism, squeezing the vital juices from all of them--even those countries that try to align themselves with the neocolonial policies. All of the liberated countries pay neocolonial tribute to imperialism that is many times greater than the former colonial profits of the mother countries.

The policy of "neoglobalism" proclaimed by the U.S. administration, powerful pressure on the liberated countries, the use and inflammation of regional conflicts, the threat of interventions and occupation and the waging of undeclared wars in many countries against the aroused peoples give rise to one of the most important problems of the antagonistic contradictions of the modern world. These contradictions are a powerful source for the revolutionary processes and new upheavals both within the liberated countries and on an international plane. On a national level, neocolonial exploitation worsens the position of the workers and strengthens popular dissatisfaction; the contradictions between the popular masses and the ruling powers become more acute, and an isolation of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie that had become adapted to neocolonialist relations and has learned to extract advantage from them occurs. All of this objectively prepares the soil for a mobilization of patriotic revolutionary forces and the elimination of neocolonialist pro-Western regimes and their substitution with governments of national democracy based on anti-imperialist positions. This turnabout has already occurred in a number of countries, and it is coming to a head in others. But it is inevitable precisely due to the acuteness of the objective contradictions with imperialism. In the next 15-20 years, it is possible to foresee the appearance of a multitude of different forms of revolutionary processes, acts and coups directed against imperialism in a number of developing countries of the world. All of them will ultimately arise from the indicated antagonistic contradiction with imperialism, and moreover national-democratic revolution and regimes coincident with it in all of its variety will be born. The task arises before scholarly thought of researching the problems of the transition of these revolutions and regimes to a higher level over the course of time.

On an international plane, the situation that has taken shape today is pushing the developing states toward cohesion in the struggle against imperialist exploitation and is bringing them closer to the socialist countries. However heterogeneous, and even opposed, the class segments in power in the developing states and the socialist countries are, and however much their ultimate aims differ, their interests coincide in practice in the desire to restrain the expansion of imperialism and put an end to the system of international



exploitation. This objectively transforms the countries of socialism and the states that are defending their sovereignty from the encroachments of imperialism into allies in a common struggle. The most far-sighted political figures of the developing states, moreover representing different directions and class interests, have already realized this general law of history that was revealed by V.I. Lenin, who for the first time in practice posed the historical task of uniting the struggle of the countries of socialism, the working class of the capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of the Orient. This does not signify, of course, that the establishment of actual interaction of the socialist and developing countries is not hindered by class and political prejudice and the limited nature of a number of leaders--a consequence of colonial upbringing and neocolonial propaganda, mercenary interests or simply a limited world view. But objective grounds exist for an expansion of the ranks of the allies and the formation of a broad international anti-imperialist front made up of the socialist and developing states, and it is exceedingly important to do everything necessary for the fullest possible realization of this historic opportunity.

Insofar as the antagonism between imperialism and the developing countries is being preserved and is becoming more acute, the national-liberation movement does not end with the declaration of political independence. This would only be the first step in the struggle for freedom. The liberated peoples have still not become, in the complete sense of the word, the owners of their own productive forces or the creators of their own fate and history. The continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle is transforming the developing countries into one of the most important factors of the modern revolutionary process.

\* \* \*

The national-liberation movement today is multifaceted as never before. Political and social delimitation are proceeding unceasingly, and revolutionary, reformist and many other--religious, sectarian and reactionary--areas are being revealed in it. Chief among these are the anti-imperialist, national-revolutionary and liberation ones. They are developing according to their own laws, and it would be incorrect from a scientific point of view and dangerous from a political one to approach them with criteria that reflect the reality of the developed socialist or capitalist countries. That which has already long become history for the developed countries remains reality here: regional, tribal, clan, religious and ethnic contacts that frequently enter the consciousness of the population as the chief factor of social behavior, with the preservation of the reigning role of the traditional productive or vital institution, the predominance of small-scale production in the village and poor development of industry in the city. There co-exist two or more societies in almost every country. On top is a thin layer of the urbanized population, the highest segment of which has practically severed its organic ties with its native environment and increasingly assimilates imported values in the material and spiritual senses of the word. But urbanization, the appearance of centers of industrial-trade, plantation or multinational capitalism, gives birth to a working class which, notwithstanding its remaining links with the village, passes quickly through the school of industrial production, acquires mobility and professional and

class consciousness, and gradually becomes the most organized, progressive and revolutionary class of society. Its numbers have doubled over the last 20-25 years. This is the modern sector of society and production. There next occurs what by European standards could be called medieval--the rule of feudal or semi-feudal relations and the spontaneity of small-scale production. But this is not all: a small proportion of the population group that is at the lowest level of development, the so-called backward or primitive tribes, is preserved.

Socio-political life is concentrated basically in the modern sector, but the bulk of the traditional sector weighs upon it, in the majority of cases more and more the basis of economic life. Contacts are maintained among all socio-economic sectors of society, exchanges are improved, and all of them are subject to the pressure of external circumstances, including the neocolonial policies of imperialism. It is as if all of the former historical path of development of humanity is compressed in this gigantic contradictory group of social relations (except slave-holding), and it is put into modern international conditions, masterfully intruding into its life and requiring modern solutions. This also furthers the extraordinary diversity of the political and national-liberation movements in the developing countries. Among the agglomeration of social relations of various natures, however, clear economic and socio-political trends are always manifested that determine the direction of development at the given stage. They ultimately converge into the channel of the struggle against multinational capitalism.

In the world of the developing countries, social transformations are occurring on a capitalist basis that are leading to a more rapid creation and reinforcement of the local bourgeoisie as the ruling class that has occurred in the past. In countries with ancient traditions of capitalism, such as India, these processes have already led to the appearance of industrial-trade monopolies. The extraordinarily diverse petty-bourgeois tendencies--from those that are revolutionary and imbued with a spirit of subjective anti-capitalism to those that are conservative and reactionary (and moreover the one and the other are frequently combined in paradoxical fashion in them, as, for example, in the Iranian revolution). Sometimes the petty-bourgeois tendencies retain an equality among the bourgeois and socialist tendencies for a time, but soon one of them takes the upper hand; the political sway of petty-bourgeois circles becomes to the greatest extent a contradictory transitional period in development--either toward capitalism or toward socialism.

A form of gradual movement toward socialism that is widespread in the Asian and African countries and is not without promise in Latin America as well that is exceptionally important in its historical significance is the non-capitalist path of development, the socialist orientation of domestic and foreign policy of the liberated states. Finally, in a number of countries the struggle for national liberation has grown or is growing into a socialist revolution. The lines between all of these directions of development are quite conditional and mobile, although they are qualitatively important. Such is the broad range of phenomena that is encompassed by the concept of "the national-liberation movement" today.

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"Broad prospects for social progress," notes the new edition of the CPSU Program adopted at the 27th Party Congress, "are revealed by the non-capitalist path of development, the path of socialist orientation, which has been selected by a number of liberated countries. Their experience confirms that under modern conditions, with the correlation of forces existing in the world, the possibilities for enslaved peoples to overthrow capitalism sooner and to build their future without exploiters in the interests of the workers have been expanded. This is a phenomenon of great historical significance." (Footnote 3) (Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pp 135-136.)

The forms of movement toward socialism are diverse and specific in countries with different social structures that have not fully experienced even the beginning classes of the school of capitalism. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the international communist movement, following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, developed the concept of a non-capitalist path of development for countries that were liberated from colonial dependence. Marx, Engels and Lenin foresaw that with the preservation of the victorious socialist revolution, the peoples that were backward in a socio-economic sense could bypass capitalism or halt its further development. The experience of many Soviet republics and oblasts, as well as Mongolia, was the first indisputable proof of the correctness of this vision.

With the transformation of socialism into a decisive factor of world development, the opportunities for bypassing capitalism were expanded in colossal fashion, especially for countries that were basically at a pre- or early-capitalist level, when the bourgeois elements are politically and economically weak and the struggle for national liberation has led to the rise of the mass democratic anti-imperialist movement. Under these conditions, serious steps in the direction of socialism can be made by revolutionary-democratic forces even in the absence of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. These are the principal features of the new variant of the non-capitalist path spoken of in many of the documents of the international communist and workers' movements.

At the beginning of the 1960s, when the process of capitalist development in the former colonial and dependent countries had just begun, this program tenet was in essence a bold forecast for the future. Non-capitalist development has since become one of the main paths for the movement of the oppressed peoples toward socialism. Many countries let this historic opportunity slip by, but the non-capitalist movement did not lose its topicality. It only acquired a somewhat different sense: not the avoidance of capitalism, but a reduction, a halt in the development of capitalism, and its gradual removal from the commanding heights and its placement under the control of the popular-democratic state, within the framework of nationwide interests and opening up prospects for its elimination in the future.

In the years that have transpired, much experience has been accumulated in development on the non-capitalist path that requires careful study, summarization and thought. There were not a few failures, retreats and

defeats, especially in the second half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, which sometimes led to skepticism and lack of faith in the possibility of it. But this tendency has perspicaciously withstood the test of time. In the middle of the 1970s, the number of countries entering onto this path expanded considerably. It is noteworthy that the new reinforcements to the socialist-oriented countries are distinguished by great consistency in the defense of socialist ideals. It is possible today to speak in essence of a multitude of versions of socialist orientation or paths of non-capitalist development, although they all retain a substantive commonality.

One group is comprised of the countries that are veterans of the movement, that entered onto this path as early as the 1960s. Typical of their ruling parties is the preservation of faithfulness to the concept of national socialism as distinct from Marxism-Leninism. They consider themselves to be representatives of broad segments of the working population, and first and foremost of the peasantry. Frequently, especially in the Arab world, they emphasize their adherence to religious ideals.

Typical of the next group is the proclamation of Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation of the parties, seeing themselves as expressing the interests of the workers in leading the working class. These parties announce as their goal the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic power of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The third group is also noted for the strong influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology as relates to an analysis of historical development and its ultimate goals. The parties in this group feel, however, that the national-democratic stage of revolution has not yet been passed through, and that the anti-imperialist front existing in the years of struggle for independence still retains its significance, and the time for the new class delimitation on a consistent socialist basis has not yet come. The parties in this group refrain from the proclamation of scientific socialism as their theoretical foundation, and frequently from socialist slogans altogether, and they emphasize the deeply national nature of their goals and ideology.

There is, finally, a group of countries in which is found a certain stagnation in the implementation of internal transformations, and a clear activation of capitalist elements occurs, while serious steps for limiting exploitation are not taken. At the same time, the anti-imperialist fighting platform is retained. There is a group of countries where socialist orientation has provoked armed resistance, foreign intervention and imperialist aid for internal reaction and aggressive forces from without.

The socialist-oriented countries are experiencing considerable difficulties in growth, especially in the realm of economics. Of course, continuing imperialist exploitation lies at the root of these difficulties, while in many countries terrorist acts against revolutionary power, organized or supported by imperialism and having a ruinous effect on the economy, are added to it. But this is not all. The majority of the developing countries have still been unable to create an efficient economy that ensures growth through intrinsic resources. The complexity of the transition from a colonial system, artificially oriented toward the needs of the mother country, to a national

one is also having an ever greater effect. The socialist-oriented countries, as a rule, are no exception. To a certain extent, from the point of view of the needs of economic survival, their situation at the first stages of non-capitalist development are even more difficult. After all, they are oriented toward state regulation of the national economy, the conscious if not complete supplanting of spontaneously and naturally extant economic contacts and structures with organized ones. It is much more difficult to achieve efficient planned regulation than to let things slide. But the latter would signify the unimpeded development of capitalist tendencies which, as opposed to socialist ones, can arise spontaneously from small-scale production. Any revolution begins with a break and is associated with certain costs that prepare the ground for a subsequent leap forward, but not all revolutions are successful--and not only due to objective conditions, but also due to a lack of knowledge, experience and skill. Socialist orientation as a form of transition from backwardness to higher forms of progress has arisen for the first time in world history. A low economic and socio-cultural level for the socialist-oriented countries undoubtedly has a negative influence on all of their initiatives and slows forward movement.

The problem of creating an organically unified economic system whose driving force and main engine would be the state sector and new collective forms of labor that have a determining influence on the whole structure of socio-economic relations arises ever more frequently before the overwhelming majority of the socialist-oriented countries. But modern and progressive forms of production still frequently exist independently, isolated from the traditional and small-scale sectors and serving to an insufficient extent to include them in forms of production and exchange that can become a step toward socialism. The state sector is rarely efficient or profitable. The process of cooperation transpires with difficulty, and sometimes it is unfoundedly accelerated without ensuring a rise in production. Neglecting the principle of vested material interest in both the state and the cooperative sectors does not further the popularization of new forms of labor. The involvement of private foreign capital is not always subordinate to national interests and the control of the state. Concessions frequently turn into a sort of enclave that operates at its own risk with the deduction of a certain, usually low, share of profits to the state.

The development of economic policy at the applied level, the determination of the correlations and interactions of the institutions and the correct combination of the interests of production growth with principles of social justice are a most important theoretical and practical task on whose resolution the success of the socialist-oriented states depends. Two dangers lie in wait on this plane. On the one hand is ultraradicalism, a hurried affirmation of the principles of socialism, and oblivion to the necessity of an extremely prolonged transition period in economics, politics and ideology. Efforts to implement this policy in practice turn into economic and political adventurism that undermine the economy and faith in the ruling parties and the very principles of socialism. This isolates the political vanguard, fraught with bureaucratization and degeneration, from the masses. On the other hand, no less dangerous is making absolute the principle of economic efficiency at any price, which transforms socialism into a good intention, into a camouflage for the patronage of private enterprise. This leads to the preservation of

social injustice, the activation of exploitative tendencies and the loss of revolutionary perspective.

As strange as it is, in a number of cases a paradoxical combination of these two extremes is observed. A verbal radicalism exists alongside political and social stagnation. Under cover of discussions on socialism, a bureaucracy is formed that lives through the state, and frequently a gravitation toward the exploiting classes is detected.

If there exist varying and sometimes deeply contradictory tendencies in the domestic policy of the socialist-oriented countries, their foreign policy is distinguished by great uniformity and clarity. All of them have combative, consistently anti-imperialist positions, support the struggle against racism, apartheid, Zionism and all forms of neocolonialism, resolutely defend the cause of peace, support the peaceful initiatives of the socialist states and are in favor of solidarity and collaboration with them. This is their great positive contribution to the development of international relations.

It would be naive to expect easy and unimpeded movement along the non-capitalist path, just taking note of the steady accumulation of successes. History has never developed and does not develop in a straight line. It is always difficult for the pioneers, and they will hardly be able avoid errors and defeats entirely. It is important that the movement for non-capitalist development grow and expand, notwithstanding the enormous difficulties of an objective and subjective nature. This proves that it has put down solid roots and is historically promising.

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In the new edition of the CPSU Program, the strategy of social progress for former colonial countries is defined in two ways: a non-capitalist path of development and a path of socialist orientation. This eliminates any false interpretations (and there were many of them) of the correlation of a non-capitalist path and socialist orientation, of the fact that socialist orientation is supposedly a higher phase of the revolutionary process, that the conception of a non-capitalist path, as it was understood in the 1960s, had been exhausted or had not justified itself. It is clearly stated today that the non-capitalist path and socialist orientation are synonyms, and consequently, the principal features of the concept of the non-capitalist path retain their significance.

Since the beginning of the 1960s, when the idea of a non-capitalist path for the Afro-Asian countries had just been advanced, tendencies arose among a number of Marxist publicists and researchers to merge this new historical phenomenon with socialism to excess, naive notions of rapid transition from non-capitalist development to consistently socialist transformations, such as the development of bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. Not forgetting therein that the essential conditions for this development are the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, they sometimes proposed artificial, dogmatic and far-from-realistic designs of the sort that the leadership of the working class could be implemented in some sort of international forum, although this in no way coincided with the degree

of influence of the progressive working class of the socialist or developed capitalist countries on the national-liberation movement. As for leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party, these "optimists" proposed that the leaders of the radical anti-imperialist movement are drawn with all of their heart toward scientific socialism and only ignorance hinders their complete association with scientific socialism. The class base of the anti-imperialist struggle, fundamentally different compared to the communist movement, and its contradictory and heterogeneous nature along with the predominance of petty-bourgeois elements and inclinations, including in the worker environment, and the different level of development therein, are completely disregarded. This is a primitive understanding of non-capitalist development and an attempt to put a new idea in the channel of old schemes.

Following Leninist precepts, the CPSU steadfastly strengthens its solidarity with the peoples of the developing countries that are defending their independence. From the rostrum of its own 27th Congress, the CPSU has once again affirmed its verity to the tested policy of supporting all anti-imperialist movements, all of their initiatives in favor of peace and progress, the reinforcement of the independence of peoples, the development of especially close and fraternal ties with the communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the creation of an international front in the struggle for peace and against imperialism.

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## FINANCE-CREDIT DEPENDENCY OF DEVELOPING STATES ANALYZED

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[Article by N.N. Petrov: "Foreign Economic Factors and the Reproductive Process in the Developing Countries"; material in all capital letters is emphasized in original]

[Excerpts] The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and other materials of the 27th Party Congress pose a series of problems associated with determining the place and role of the liberated states in the modern world capitalist economy and the consequences that the economies of these countries experience as a result of new-style neocolonial exploitation. Of great significance is the conclusion that "capitalism has largely succeeded in saving the previously extant relation of economic dependence. Imperialism on that basis has been able to create and perfect a most refined system of neocolonial exploitation and bind a considerable portion of the liberated countries to itself more closely." (Footnote 1) (Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, pp 16-17.) A study of the mechanism with the aid of which the imperialist states have been able to "bind more closely to themselves" the former colonies and semi-colonies is a vital task of Marxist scholars.

The mechanism of neocolonial exploitation makes use of the objective necessity for the liberated countries to attract external resources for the purpose of economic development. Soviet researchers have done much in the study of this phenomenon. The fundamental question of whether the dependence of the reproductive process of the developing countries on foreign economic factors is strengthening or weakening is still far from clear, however.

With no pretension of an exhaustive analysis, the author expresses his point of view on several important aspects of this problem that have both economic and great socio-political significance.

### The Reproductive Mechanism of the Colonial Periphery

In the basic collective monograph of the USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO [World Economics and International Relations Institute] titled "The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity," one of its three constituent sections is devoted to a description of the colonial and post-



colonial systems of reproduction in the developing countries. (Footnote 2) ("Razvivayushchiesya strany v sovremennom mire: yedinstvo i mnogoobraziye" [The Developing Countries in the Modern World: Unity and Diversity]. Moscow, 1983, pp 97-193.) The principal conclusions arrived at by the authors are the following. In the colonial period, the reproductive process on the periphery was defined by two main features. First, "duality," i.e. the simultaneous existence of modern and traditional sectors, poorly integrated in a unified reproductive mechanism. Second, "a no less important feature of the reproductive cycle was the fact that in many of its contacts, it was based not on the local economy, but on the foreign market, i.e. it was, in essence, neither integral nor national." (Footnote 3) (Ibid., p 102.) In the post-colonial decades, in the opinion of the authors of the monograph, the system of reproduction in young independent countries underwent cardinal changes. "The main thing here, undoubtedly, is THE INCREASE IN THE EXTENT OF THE INTEGRAL NATURE OF THE REPRODUCTIVE PROCESS AND ITS GRADUAL TRANSITION TO A PRIMARILY NATIONAL BASIS" (Footnote 4) (Ibid., p 103.)

The conclusions cited seem to us to be far from indisputable. First and foremost, can it be considered that in the colonial period, the reproductive process on the periphery of the world market was not primarily "national"? After all, the predominance of a subsistence or semi-subsistence economy in the overwhelming majority of colonial and neocolonial countries determined the closed self-sufficient nature of their reproductive process. Only an insignificant portion of the local natural and human resources were included in international commodity exchange. Specialized production for export was of a self-sufficient nature and had only a small effect on the reproduction of the national product.

The situation has changed fundamentally in the post-colonial period. The task has arisen before the Asian and African states of a radical break with the colonial structure of the economy, an acceleration of the growth rate of the national economy, the rapid development of the intrinsic productive base, the modernization of agricultural production and an increase in the living standard of the population.

#### Strengthening the Foreign Economic Dependency of the Reproductive Process of the Liberated Countries

The process of expanded reproduction of social product under new conditions in the overwhelming majority of the liberated countries of Asia and Africa could not be implemented, as before, primarily on a local basis. (Footnote 6) (A notable exception was India, whose economy in the post-colonial period developed largely based on intrinsic material and human resources. An investigation of the "Indian phenomenon" is not among the tasks of the author, the more so as there exists extensive literature on this question.) The young independent states had to turn to the service of the foreign market.

Through the development of foreign economic ties, they compensated to a certain extent for the lack of internal financial resources and the lack, in the overwhelming majority of cases, of modern means of production, satisfied a considerable portion of the need for skilled engineering, technical and administrative personnel, obtained modern technology, covered a portion of the

demand for consumer durables and sold some of their commodity products, in that manner acquiring the essential hard foreign currency. It is no exaggeration to assert that in this manner they largely ensured the intensification of the processes of expanded reproduction of the national product in the 1960s and 1970s.

The growth rate of industrial development on the periphery in those years led to a sharp increase in the dependency of the young states on the import of machinery, equipment and semi-manufactures. The point is that so-called import production received preferential development, which in practice signified rapid growth in the sectors of the 2nd subdivision. Over a comparatively short period of time, the production of many consumer goods (especially for short-term use) in the so-called new industrial states came not only to satisfy internal effective demand, but also to surpass it.

The increased disproportion could theoretically be eliminated through an expansion of the export of consumer goods and the acquisition of essential machinery and equipment for the funds received. But the need for capital goods increased so quickly, while the possibility of expanding industrial exports from the developing countries was so limited, that the deepening imbalance in the reproductive process of these countries led to rapid growth in the import of capital- and resource-intensive goods, as well as complex labor-intensive goods. The data presented in Table 1 testify vividly to the scale and rate of increase of the dependency of the reproductive process of the young independent states on the foreign market. It visibly and quite objectively demonstrates the consequences for the periphery and the centers of the world capitalist economy of the development of the machining industry in the developing countries in the post-colonial period.

Table 1

Balance of Trade in Machining-Industry Commodities for the  
Developed Capitalist Countries with the Developing States,  
billions of dollars

Commodity	1963	1973	1980
Simple labor-intensive commodities	+1.3	-3.0	-10.8
Complex labor-intensive commodities	+5.6	+20.2	+72.5
Capital- and resource-intensive goods	+6.9	+21.6	+100.6
Total	+13.8	+38.8	+162.3

Source: Doc. UNCTAD/TDR/2 (Vol 2). 1982. Geneva, 1982, p 132.

The trade balance for simple labor-intensive goods has changed in favor of the periphery. Nonetheless, the 11 billion dollars that in 1980 were at the disposal of the developing countries in this regard were no comparison to the 172.5 billion dollars they had in trade of other types of machining-industry

products. The industrial apple tree, planted with the assistance of multinational monopoly capital on the territory of the developing countries in the post-colonial period, truly came to bear golden apples for the multinationals.

Of course, a tendency toward increased dependency of the reproduction of social capital of individual states on foreign factors is also typical of industrially developed states. The accumulation of national capital takes place ever more on the scale of the world market. Moreover, the more weakly developed commodity exchange is within the country and the more limited the share of the gross national product that is sold abroad, the less dependent the country is on international markets. The reproduction of social product in many of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, where a considerable portion of the GNP is produced in non-trade sectors of the economy, in this sense depends less on the foreign market than the reproductive process in the leading capitalist countries of Western Europe.

Table 2

Movement of Capital Caused by Direct Investment Abroad,  
billions of dollars

Group of countries	Capital out for direct investments		Influx of foreign capital		Capital out caused by foreign investments		Capital influx caused by investments of national capital abroad	
	1970-1972	1978-1980	1970-1972	1978-1980	1970-1972	1978-1980	1970-1972	1978-1980
Industrially developed capitalist countries	13.2	41.6	8.7	25.9	4.1	13.5	8.2	25.5
Developing states including:	0.1	0.7	2.4	8.0	6.0	12.8	0.1	0.3
Asian	---	0.4	0.7	1.4	3.1	8.2	---	0.2
African	---	0.1	0.6	1.7	1.3	1.9	---	---
All countries	13.3	42.3	11.1	33.9	10.1	26.3	8.3	25.8

Source: U.N. Transnational Corporations in World Development. Third Survey. N.Y. 1983, p 19.

But the dependency of the industrially developed states and the developing countries on the world market is far from identical. This is most visibly manifested in the movement of the capital associated with foreign investment.

From the data cited in Table 2, it can be seen that the average annual influx of capital into the industrially developed capitalist countries caused by the foreign investments of their private companies was roughly twice the outflow of capital associated with the investments of foreign firms in their own economy at both the beginning and the end of the 1970s. In the developing countries, the influx of capital caused by the investments of local firms abroad, even at the end of the 1970s, did not exceed 300,000 dollars a year, while the outflow of financial resources associated with the capital investment of foreign companies totaled about 13 billion dollars a year.

Thus, multinational monopoly capital pumped roughly the same total out of the developed countries as out of the industrially developed states, although almost three times less capital was invested in the periphery each year than in the centers of the world capitalist economy. For every additional dollar invested in the Asian countries at the end of the 1970s, the multinationals obtained almost 6 dollars in the form of deductions from past capital investments.

Consequently, the dependency of the reproductive process of the developing countries on the foreign market has a tendency to increase. One result of this tendency is growth in the scale of their exploitation by imperialism. The main channel along which the surplus product of the liberated countries is pumped in favor of monopoly capital is the credit indebtedness of these countries.

#### Causes of the Rapid Growth of Credit Indebtedness

The growth in the dependency of the reproductive process of the developing countries on the imperialist centers was visibly demonstrated in the manifold increase of the deficit in their balance of payments for current foreign economic operations. As can be seen from the data of Table 3, a negative net balance for foreign-trade operations lies at the root of the balance-of-payments deficit of the developing countries.

The growth of the foreign-trade deficit was caused first of all by the rapidly increasing schism in the mutual deliveries of industrial items between the periphery and the centers of world capitalism. This schism increased in favor of the centers from roughly 14 billion dollars at the beginning of the 1960s to 162 billion dollars at the verge of the 1980s (see Table 1). It is instructive that the stabilization, and then the fall, of oil prices in 1981-1985 did not lead to a reduction in the aggregate foreign-trade deficit of the developing countries, which reached a record level that considerably exceeded 100 billion dollars.

In order to form a correct conception of in what direction the foreign economic ties between the periphery and the centers of the non-socialist world are developing, it is expedient to remember that up until the middle of the 1950s, in a period when most of the countries that were backward in their economic development had still not been liberated from their colonial dependency, the situation in their foreign-trade balance was directly the opposite of what it is today. The periphery in value terms offered more goods for international exchange than they were prepared to acquire. The net trade

balance over the course of the first half of this century was, as noted above, in favor of the peripheral countries and territories overall.

Table 3

Balance of Payments for Current Foreign Economic  
Operations of Developing Countries,  
billions of dollars

Years	----Foreign-trade balance----		Balance of current operations	
	Oil-importing countries	Oil-exporting countries	Oil-importing countries	Oil-exporting countries
1970	-16.2	-1.0	-8.8	-3.2
1973	-23.4	3.3	-7.5	-1.6
1980	-84.1	23.1	-71.5	12.6
1981	-84.5	-25.8	-79.9	-38.7
1982	-69.5	-35.0	-68.4	-49.8

Source: The World Bank Report 1983, Washington, 1983, p 33.

In the 1960s and 1970s the situation changed radically. The usually rapid growth in imports to the developing countries was connected with the policy of industrialization being conducted by the young independent states. But the proclamation of this or that principle of economic policy in and of itself cannot cause an influx of commodity values into the country from abroad. The imported goods must be paid for, primarily with marketable foreign currency.

The excess of export receipts was quickly reduced to nothing. The influx of foreign capital for the purpose of productive investment increased considerably, but was unable to cover the needs that arose for the import of machinery, equipment, semi-manufactures and technology, the more so as concern for the creation of an infrastructure and the basic sectors of industry in the peripheral countries was primarily taken on by the state sector. Receipts along the lines of "economic assistance" were also unable to meet the increased requirements.

Thus, it was impossible to arrange commodity exchange based on the direct exchange of cost equivalents--T-D-T--between the centers and the overwhelming majority of the countries of the periphery. A situation arose wherein the centers had a vested interest in expanding sales of commodity values on the periphery, but the latter could not accomplish the modernization of their economies without an increase in imports from the centers. And at the same time, the periphery was in no condition to offer the necessary quantity of commodity values for exchange. A way out of the extant situation was found through the granting of bank and commercial credit under the guarantee of the governments of the developing countries. This turned out to be the more possible, as the recession in the economies of the world capitalist centers that began at the end of the 1960s, and the appearance on bank balance sheets

of tens of billions of "petrodollars" in the middle of the 1970s, considerably increased the liquidity of bank capital in the leading capitalist countries.

On the threshold of the 1980s, capital granted in loans to the developing countries totaled over 3/4 of the total net influx of capital from the centers. Moreover, the average annual amount of credit at the beginning of the 1980s was almost five times greater than the corresponding indicator for the beginning of the 1970s. (Footnote 7) (Calculated according to: U.N. Transnational Corporations in World Development. Third Survey. pp 25-83.) An especially rapid growth in the influx of loan funds occurred through bank credit channels. Moreover, on the Eurocurrency market, the developing countries as a group, from the middle of the 1970s to the beginning of the 1980s, were the principal borrowers.

How can the influence that the influx of credit funds (and the influx of capital overall) on the process of expanded reproduction and the accumulation of capital in the developing countries be described from a political-economic point of view?

It seems to us that for an answer to this question, we should turn to the statements of K. Marx on the significance of the centralization of capital. K. Marx wrote in *Das Kapital* that "the accumulation and gradual increase of capital through reproduction, moving from a circular to a spiral form of movement, is an extremely slow process compared to centralization, which requires changes only in the quantitative grouping of the components of social capital." (Footnote 8) (K. Marx and F. Engels. Works. Vol 23, p 642.) The import of capital by peripheral countries, in our opinion, is just such an attempt to expand internal capital through the redistribution of social capital existing within the framework of the world capitalist system. The country importing capital figures on substantially increasing volume and modernizing the pattern of the accumulation of capital through association with capital from without (centralization). In the opposite case, the developing countries would have to postpone the implementation of the industrialization process until they accumulate adequate internal financial and material resources for modernizing the economic structure. The achievement of such a goal is complicated further by the fact that the foreign currency of most of the peripheral countries is not convertible. Consequently, it is not only necessary to accumulate monetary resources, but they must be in hard currency, which can be obtained in practice only through the export of local products to the markets of the industrially developed countries.

It should be kept in mind, however, that having obtained capital through borrowing, the developing country does not become the owner of this capital. It belongs to the creditor as before and is only granted to the borrower for a time period, upon the expiration of which the borrowed capital has to be returned to the creditor along with accumulated profit in the form of loan interest. That is, a reciprocal outflow of the capital from the borrower-country is inevitable. Therefore, the problem of the most expedient (from the point of view of the reproduction of the social product) utilization of the borrowed funds is especially acute.

Ideally, the country importing the capital can, through centralization and the temporary redistribution of the aggregate social product of the world capitalist system, increase the rate and amount of accumulation of capital and then carry out the expanded reproduction of capital primarily through their own internal capabilities by way of concentrating the increased mass of surplus value. (Footnote 9) (The history of capitalism as a world system knows similar examples. It is enough to cite the examples of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand in the 19th century. After the Second World War, the restoration and development of the economy in the countries of Western Europe proceeded roughly according to the same scheme.) But in order for this ideal scheme to take shape in practice, one chief condition at least should be fulfilled. If the rate of increase of the national product going for consumption and accumulation exceeds the rate of increase for deductions for the retirement of the foreign indebtedness, then obviously, it is possible to feel that the national economy is gaining from the use of borrowed funds. It has no basic significance therein what the capital taken as a loan is spent for specifically, only that it is used for the needs of expanded reproduction overall.

This general provision, however, requires a substantial proviso. The point is that the retirement of credit is accomplished, as a rule, in hard currency or deliveries of export products. This specific feature creates no problems for the industrially developed states, since their national currency is international at the same time. A quite different situation arises among the developing countries. The retirement of indebtedness through internal resources is possible for them only through an increase in exports of their own products to the markets of the owners of hard currency. An increase in exports to these markets (with the preservation of a given level of imports) must be covered through increased payments for debt liquidation.

The overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian countries cannot satisfy such requirements. Insofar (as was shown above) as it is not only the periphery, but the centers of world capitalism that have a vested interest in the granting of capital loan credit, the way out of the dead-end situation, it would seem, is the adoption of a "compromise" solution. The retirement of indebtedness is only partially accomplished through the expanded reproduction of national income and an increase in exports to the lender-country. A considerable portion of current payments for credit are made through obtaining new borrowed funds. Such a "compromise" does not in principle contradict the interests of monopolistic accumulation so much as the capital is in circulation and brings profits in the form of loan interest. Multinational monopoly capital is forced to extend the time periods for the payment of the debt, since, as V.I. Lenin noted as early as the turn of the century in his "Notes on Imperialism" in describing the problem of the indebtedness of Mexico, China and Turkey, "otherwise worse is threatened!!" (Footnote 10) (V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works. Vol 28, p 65.) "Worse" for the creditors is a cessation of interest payments.

Nonetheless, the existence of such a "compromise" system, and the especially hypertrophied growth on the scale of the 1970s and 1980s, is fraught with most serious negative consequences for the participants, and especially for the developing countries, the aggregate indebtedness of which to foreign creditors

was reaching a trillion dollars by 1986. The developing countries currently pay over 100 billion dollars a year to retire this indebtedness. In reality the developing countries taken as a whole have turned into net exporters of monetary resources, but the paradox of the situation consists of the fact that the monetary resources leaving the territory of these countries in the overwhelming majority of cases brings them no income either in the form of enterprise profits or in the form of interest payments, and are thus a pure withdrawal of resources from the social capital accumulation fund of the young independent states.

#### The Influence of Multinational Monopoly Capital on the Cyclicity of the Reproductive Process in the Liberated Countries

The inclusion of the developing countries in the process of expanded reproduction of social capital within the framework of the world capitalist economy had as a consequence an increased susceptibility of the periphery to cyclical phenomena in the development of the economy of the industrially developed powers. As a result, the crises that periodically engulf the economy of the centers of world capitalism spread with great speed and on an incomparably greater scale through foreign trade and credit channels to the periphery. At the same time, difficulties in the reproductive process of the developing countries have an effect on the course of expanded reproduction in the economically developed capitalist countries to a greater extent than two or three decades ago.

An obvious tendency toward a synchronization of cyclical processes on the scale of the whole world capitalist economy has been noted. A definite idea of this may be obtained from the summary data on the rate of increase of the gross national product (GNP) and foreign trade in the non-socialist world in 1960-1983 (Table 4). These data testify to the almost synchronized fluctuations in the growth rates of the principal aggregate economic indicators of the two groups of countries.

Table 4

#### Average Annual GNP Growth Rate and Foreign Trade, %

Group of countries	1961-1973	1974-1979	1980-1983
Industrially developed capitalist countries			
GNP	5.0	2.6	1.2
Exports	8.4	5.1	1.6
Imports	9.9	3.6	-0.2
Developing countries			
GNP	6.1	5.2	1.3
Exports	6.7	2.0	-3.2
Imports	6.0	8.9	3.9

Source: U.N. World Economic Survey 1984. Current Trends and Policies in the World Economy. N.Y., 1984, pp 1, 4, 28.



The trend toward a reduction in GNP growth and foreign trade in the developing countries observed at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s was defined to a decisive extent by the increased dependency of the reproductive process of these countries on foreign factors, and more precisely, on economic market conditions in the centers of the world capitalist economy. Stagnation in the economies of the industrially developed powers in the second half of the 1970s and the crisis of 1980-1982 caused first of all a sharp reduction in demand for the raw-material export commodities of the developing countries. The greatest absolute reduction in income from export was observed in the OPEC countries, which over four years (1979-1983) were forced to reduce the physical volume of commodity export by almost half. Many countries in whose exports one or two raw-material commodities predominated came to be in a difficult situation. As a result of the fall in prices for raw-material commodities alone, the developing countries lost roughly 40 billion dollars in 1982-1984. (Footnote 11) (Trade and Development Report 1985. UNCTAD. Geneva, 1985, p 3.) Some countries of south and east Asia exporting industrial items to world markets were in a somewhat better position, but they also encountered increased protectionism from the leading capitalist powers.

The decrease in the physical volume of commodity exports and income from foreign-trade operations occurred against a background of a sharp reduction in commercial credit granted to the developing countries. Having reached a peak in 1979-1980, the net influx of commercial credit began to subside appreciably, and in 1983 was 4.5 times less than in 1980. At the same time, in view of the sharp increase in the level of the discount rate in American banks in 1980-1982, the sum total of loan interest liable for payment for foreign debt doubled. In many developing countries, currency losses for the aforementioned reasons reached 10 and more percent of the GNP. (Footnote 12) (Ibid.) The import capabilities of the developing countries were undermined due to the loss of the capital of the domestic bourgeoisie to the industrially developed countries. It is typical that the entrepreneurs in the developing countries, with investments from abroad at their disposal, did not, as a rule, shift the income obtained from them back into their own countries.

The increasing outflow of capital in the form of profits and amortization deductions caused by the direct and portfolio investments of the multinational corporations is having a negative effect on the balance of payments of the developing countries. Total payments for technology and administrative services rendered have increased rapidly in recent decades. Up to 1/3 of import receipts went to retire credit indebtedness. (Footnote 13) (Ibid.)

Under these circumstances, the overwhelming majority of the developing countries had to reduce imports sharply in order to reduce the balance-of-payments deficit. The reduction in exports and imports and the influx of borrowed funds had an immediate effect in the fall in the growth rates of the gross national product and a decline in the amount of real product per capita.

By virtue of reciprocal ties, the reduction of imports by the peripheral countries could not help being reflected in the sales of export products by the industrially developed capitalist powers. Moreover, the consequences for the centers of world capitalism were proportional to the proportionate share

of the developing countries in the overall volume of commodity values sold abroad. According to existing estimates, the decline in exports to the developing countries led to the loss of two or three million jobs in the industrially developed capitalist countries. (Footnote 14) (Ibid., p 5.)

#### The Nature of the Interdependence of the Centers and the Periphery of the Non-Socialist World

The intensification of the involvement of the human and natural resources of the periphery in the process of expanded reproduction of multinational monopoly capital led, as has already been noted, to a strengthening of the dependency of the economies of the industrially developed powers on the reproductive processes taking place in the liberated countries. Concrete analysis of the changes that occurred show, however, that a strengthening of this dependency is not associated with the whole body of the developing states, but only with a comparatively small group of them. They include, first and foremost, the suppliers of raw minerals--as a rule, no more than three to five states for each product group. They include: Guinea, Jamaica, Surinam and Guyana (bauxite); Chile, Zambia, Zaire and Peru (copper); Brazil, Liberia and Mauritania (iron ore); Peru and Morocco (lead); New Caledonia, Philippines and Indonesia (nickel); Malaysia, Bolivia, Indonesia and Thailand (tin); Peru, Mexico, Zaire and Zambia (zinc); and, the Near-East countries, Mexico, Venezuela, Libya, Algeria, Nigeria and Indonesia (oil).

In order to weaken dependence on the principal suppliers of raw minerals, multinational monopoly capital is employing the most varied of methods: from the retention of the marketing networks and the refining of the primary raw material in their own hands to military presence on the territory of some countries or in immediate proximity to them.

The state-monopoly capital of the West is displaying growing interest in the situation in the so-called new industrial states. The developed powers have invested enormous amounts of capital in their economies in both production and monetary forms. A growing quantity of commodity values produced in the centers of world capital is being sold in their markets. The implementation of all of the stages of expanded reproduction of the capital of these centers depends to an increasing extent on the course of the reproductive processes in the new industrial countries. The new industrial countries, however, are taking just the first steps for the penetration of their industrial commodities into the markets of the industrially developed capitalist powers.

As can be seen from Table 5, the developing countries (this relates basically to the group of new industrial states) have been able, over the last decade, to double their share in the satisfaction of demand in the zone of the developed capitalist powers for machining-industry products. Nonetheless, on the threshold of the 1980s this share did not exceed 3.4 percent. It was somewhat higher in the EEC countries, Australia and Sweden, and somewhat lower in the United States, Japan and Canada. It is also typical that in the second half of the 1970s, the rate of penetration of the goods of the developing countries into the markets for commercial items of the economically developed powers slowed down (with the exception of Japan, the EEC and Sweden).

Table 5

Export Products of Developing Countries in the Demand  
of Machining-Industry Items in the Industrially Developed  
Capitalist States, %

Countries	Share of demand		Average annual increase in the share of demand for the developing countries	
	1970	1980	1970-1977	1977-1980
All industrially developed countries	1.7	3.4	8.4	7.6
United States	1.3	2.9	10.6	5.1
EEC	2.5	4.6	6.6	7.5
Japan	1.3	2.4	7.8	12.9
Canada	1.3	2.1	5.5	4.2
Australia	2.1	5.5	14.9	2.9
Sweden	2.8	3.8	4.0	4.2

Source: World Development Report 1983. IMF. Washington, 1983, p 14.

The new industrial states achieved the most impressive results in penetrating the market for light-industry products, where over the course of the 1970s they were able to more than triple their share and, by the end of the decade, to satisfy over 1/10 of the needs of the industrially developed powers. At the threshold of the 1980s, deliveries from the periphery covered roughly 1/6 of the requirement for clothing, footwear and leather articles in the centers of world capitalism. The proportionate share of the developing countries in the markets for radio receivers, televisions and simple calculating devices also increased considerably. (Footnote 15) (See: World Development Report 1983, p 14.) Even in the markets for these products, however, where the developing countries had a certain advantage in the 1960s and 1970s due to low production costs, market conditions can change in the 1980s (not to mention the future). An intensive development of new technology, raw-materials-conserving methods of production and automatic processes is underway in the developed countries.

Even the new industrial states depend on the centers of world capitalism, and this relates not only to the supply of equipment, semi-manufactures, technology and credit, but also to the market conditions taking shape in the markets of the industrially developed states, on which the most developed states of the periphery still have an insignificant influence. If we speak of the principal body of the peripheral countries, the dependency of the centers of world capitalism on them is extremely limited.

The economic dependency of the main body of the states of the periphery on the imperialist centers is consequently of a unilateral nature, and a theory of interdependency seems to me quite unconvincing.

The weakness of the economic positions of the developing countries in their opposition to multinational monopoly capital was also the main reason that kept the peripheral countries, notwithstanding a certain growth in their national-economic potential in the 1960s and 1970s, from achieving serious progress in the struggle to restructure foreign economic relations within the framework of the world capitalist economy on a more favorable basis for themselves. Thus, the well-known position of V.I. Lenin that under capitalism "another basis for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies etc. aside from a regard for the forces of the participants in the division--general economic, financial, military etc. forces--is inconceivable" has been confirmed once again. (Footnote 16) (V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 27, p 417.)

Thus, the dependency of the reproduction of social product on foreign economic factors has increased appreciably in the countries of the East in the post-colonial period. The replacement of colonial forms of oppression with economic methods of exploitation has considerably increased the influx of capital from the countries that are backward in economic development to the fund of the monopoly accumulation of the imperialist centers. The scale of exploitation of the human and natural resources of the developing countries by the monopoly capital of the imperialist states has increased.

Of course, this phenomenon should not be evaluated in a linear and unambiguous fashion. Several developing countries, for this or that reason in more favorable conditions for the rapid development and modernization of the national economy, can, by virtue of the effect of the law of unequal development, weaken to a greater or lesser extent the degree of submission of their economies to the monopoly capital of the imperialist centers. The overwhelming majority of the countries of the East, however, while they remain within the framework of the world capitalist economy, will inevitably be subject to increasing exploitation, and this arises from the objective laws of the capitalist method of production in its state-monopoly stage.

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## SEYCHELLES' ECONOMIC SUCCESSES, POLITICAL ORIENTATION PRAISED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 67-74

[Article by T.M. Turukina: "Seychelles in the Struggle for Socialist Orientation"]

[Excerpts] The development experience of the major African socialist-oriented countries has been disseminated quite widely in literature. As for the small countries that have chosen a socialist orientation, countries with a small population and limited resources (which, naturally, creates specific conditions, difficulties and problems in resolving the tasks of transforming society), and namely including the Republic of Seychelles (RS), they have been clearly inadequately studied. The task of our report is to describe the principal features and milestones of the socio-economic and political development of Seychelles and to facilitate study of the experience it has accumulated.

\* \* \*

Over ten years ago, the many years of struggle for liberation by the people of the Seychelles against English colonial rule ended successfully. On 29 Jun 76 the country was proclaimed a republic. Its first president was J. Menkem, the leader of the Democratic Party (DP), the party of the local bourgeoisie. The DP adhered to the concept of integration with the former mother country. The leader of the revolutionary-democratic United Party (UP), F.A. Rene, became prime minister of a coalition government. Over the first year of existence of the young republic, the former mother country continued to have a most powerful influence on its domestic and foreign policy; neocolonialism acted especially actively in the sphere of economics. Menkem was in essence prepared to turn the Seychelles into a "gambling house" and arms trade center for the countries of the Indian Ocean basin. Many islands were sold into private ownership--basically to foreigners.

Flouting the constitution, Menkem announced his intention to postpone the next presidential elections for seven years (i.e. to 1984). Rene objected decisively to this, insisting that a referendum be held on postponing the presidential elections. Menkem declined this proposal. His government began to take on a dictatorial nature. Under these conditions, a coup d'etat occurred in the country on 5 Jun 77, as a result of which Menkem was deposed.

The first steps of the revolutionary-democratic government, headed by the new president of the republic and chairman of the UP, F.A. Rene, were of a clearly progressive nature: the sale of islands into private ownership was banned, the activity of foreign companies was limited by an efficient system of taxation, customs tariffs were raised for imported goods and a number of sectors of the economy were nationalized. Under the conditions of a revolutionary-democratic regime, the state sector of the economy began to be consistently reinforced, strict control over prices for consumer goods was introduced and a broad program of housing construction was implemented.

At the 2nd UP Congress (June 1978), the party advanced the unification of all democratic forces in the struggle for the affirmation of independence and the elimination of the consequences of the policies of neocolonialism as the chief task. The economic resolution of the party emphasized the irreversible nature of the choice of Seychelles in favor of a socialist future of social development. It was resolved to change the name of the UP to the Progressive Front of the People of the Seychelles Islands (PF). Today it unites about 6,000 people in its ranks. (Footnote 1) (Seychelles People's Progressive Front. Constitution. 3rd Edition. Victoria, 1983, p 9.)

In accordance with the new constitution, adopted in March of 1979, the Seychelles were declared a "sovereign socialist republic." Legislative power in the country belongs to the National Assembly, to which only PF members may be elected. The overwhelming majority of the population supports the program of political and socio-economic transformations advanced by the PF. The party and governmental leadership of the Seychelles has declared their adherence to scientific socialism. (Footnote 2) (PRAVDA, 6 Mar 86.)

The PF bases its domestic policy on the working class and the trade unions. A unified trade-union center functioning under the leadership of the PF was created in the country in March of 1978. Today it unites 11 sector trade unions numbering some 26,000 members. Upon entering the workforce, every Seychellois automatically becomes a member of the corresponding trade union. The workers are part of the management organs of the enterprises, and through their representatives in parliament they participate in the discussion and adoption of laws. The trade unions see their task both as the ideological education of the workers and the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism. Entrepreneurs cannot dismiss workers or employees without the knowledge of the trade union.

A basic feature of the national-democratic revolution in the Seychelles is that having begun as both anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic and as a revolution whose most immediate aim was the achievement of political independence, it then acquired the nature of a revolution directed against capitalism in general. At the modern stage of development, the party and governmental leadership of the country is striving to impart a socialist substance to all of the democratic transformations being conducted in the country and to make them universal and irreversible.

All of the measures of the PF and the government take into account first and foremost the interests of the poor and poorest segments of the population, the

workers and employees of the state sector of the economy and the working peasantry. All privileges associated with skin color, gender, propertied position and social origins of the citizenry have been abolished.

Plans for national development are being developed. The five-year plan for 1985-1989 poses the tasks of growth in productive forces, diversification of the country's economy and a weakening of its dependence on tourist market conditions and expensive imports of industrial goods and food products. A special place in this regard is reserved for the development of the fishing industry, agriculture and the broad use of local natural resources. For its development, the country is making broad use of foreign loans and projects being implemented within the framework of aid policies, as well as income from tourism. A continuation of the course of reinforcing the state sector is projected. In agriculture, priority will be given to the organization of state farms. The nationalization of all major hospitals is envisaged. The position of the state will also be reinforced in the sphere of foreign and domestic trade. Private capital, both national and foreign, will be utilized therein for the development of the economy. Great significance is imparted to the creation of joint enterprises both in industry and in agriculture.

Agriculture is the principal productive sphere of the economy of the republic. Its development is being restrained, however, due to a lack of fertile land. The 21st Session of the RS National Assembly adopted a law on the government acquisition of private land and a strengthening of the monitoring of the correct use of all parcels suitable for agriculture. The law makes it possible for the government to pay compensation to landowners both in money and in obligations, as well as to acquire essential parcels by way of exchange. (Footnote 5) (The Nation. 24 May 83.)

The law on the purchase of parcels of land and strict construction rules are aimed against land speculation. Thus, in February of 1983 the third-largest island of Silhouette, earlier sold to a French stock company, was bought out. Considerable areas on the islands of Mahe and La Digue were bought out and are being used today for the creation of state farms. Great significance is attached to the assimilation of the virgin lands of the Seychelles, first and foremost on remote and uninhabited islands. The creation of a layer of soil on the atolls (they number more than 80) will permit the year-round cultivation of vegetables for export as well as feed grasses.

The land property of a number of odious individuals who sometimes owned entire islands were subjected to expropriation. Furthermore, abandoned and neglected lands were nationalized. The major parcels of land bought from private owners are transferred to cooperatives and peasants without land for the construction of houses and the cultivation of subsidiary plots.

Some 6 state farms and 5 cooperatives are operating in the country already. Over the course of the current five-year plan, about 100 farms--state, cooperative and private--will be created. All of the products of these farms will be sold in the Seycom state trade organization according to strictly established prices. Thanks to the activity of state agricultural enterprises, the Seychelles have satisfied the needs of the population for vegetables, fruits and several other types of food products. Prices for many food

commodities that were earlier imported from abroad have declined appreciably in the country.

After the creation of the essential material and technical base and the provision of personnel, the government intends to transfer the entire system of agricultural management into the hands of the peasants themselves. A special service has been organized to acquaint the peasantry with progressive technology for conducting agriculture.

The achievement of self-sufficiency for the country in foodstuffs over a ten-year period is one of the principal tasks posed by the ruling party. The solution of the food problem is considered to be an important factor in the successful advance of the Seychelles along the path of socialist orientation. Practice has shown that the cultivation of a number of grains that were traditionally imported from South Africa to the Seychelles was not only fully possible, but profitable as well. As a result, the import of food products into the Seychelles declined 27 percent over the first half of 1983 and totaled 36.9 million Seychellois rupees (in 1982 it was 50.6 million, and in 1977, 65 million). (Footnote 6) (The Nation. 18 Aug 83.) Progress has been made in self-sufficiency in such products as vegetables, fruits, fresh pork, chickens and eggs. The principal foods of the Seychellois are fish and rice. There is currently no suitable land on the Seychelles for the cultivation of rice. The needs of the population are completely covered by imports. But efforts to decrease imports of food products are also being extended to this crop as well. A plan for improvement of the land of the eastern shores of the Mahe Islands is being developed in particular which will allow a reduction of one fourth in the import of rice.

Great significance is imparted to providing the population with meat and dairy products. Meat products were earlier imported into the Seychelles from South Africa. Pedigree cattle have now been brought to the islands from Australia. The calves of the cattle are sold to the farmers on favorable terms. The state is stimulating the individual breeding of swine and poultry in every way possible. The construction of slaughterhouses is underway (financed by Belgium). In September of 1985, a dairy plant was placed in service with the technical and financial assistance of Cuba. In the next few years, the country will be able to provide its own milk and dairy products.

The country earlier did not have its own fishing fleet. Fish were just caught in boats in the coastal zone. At the beginning of 1979, the Seychelles established a 200-mile economic zone and granted foreign trawlers the right to carry out fishing operations in their territorial waters upon payment to the state of 170,000 dollars a year by their owners. This is an important source of foreign-currency receipts.

A conference of the Seychellois government with representatives of international organizations was held in Victoria in March of 1984 on financing a major project for the industrial development of the Seychelles which is being called "the project of the century." The World Bank, the African Development Bank, the Arab Bank for the Development of Africa, representatives of the EEC and others took part in the negotiations. It was decided to grant loans to the Seychelles under favorable terms in the amount of 216 million



Seychellois rupees. Of a total project cost on the order of 332 million Seychellois rupees, 209 million are earmarked for a fishing port, 82 million for the expansion of the trade port and 41 million for ship repair structures. The principal facilities will be built by the end of 1986. A second specialized port will be built to develop fishing to the north of the island of Mahe. Its construction financing has been taken on by France and the EEC. The Seychelles will also receive new technology in the realm of fishing.

As Rene has noted, at this stage the Seychelles do not intend to nationalize enterprises belonging to foreign capital and are not planning to limit the transfer of capital either to the country or from it. He warned, however, that the government will strictly monitor the activity of foreign investors so as to extract the maximum benefit for its own people from it. (Footnote 8) (The Nation. 13 Jan 84.) As for private capital in general, a leading PF figure, Guy Sinon, explained that "We do not expropriate private property. We buy it and give it over to the ownership of the people." (Footnote 9) (Quoted from: S.F. Kulik. Africa: On the Trail of Events. Moscow, 1983, p 333.)

Semi-state enterprises that operate under the monitoring of the state using both the funds of the state and of private investors (national and foreign) have become widespread in the Seychelles. The efficiency of this system "is determined not by how much profit they generate, but how they ease the situation of the workers," giving them for instance, cheaper foodstuffs or ensuring the sale of the products of small-scale producers. (Footnote 10) (Indian Press Agency. A Review. April 1982.)

In accordance with the Housing for the People Program, residential construction has been expanded in the country under the slogan "A Home for Every Family." A family is forbidden to have more than one home. In 1979, all 23 regional organizations of the PF conducted a careful survey of the living conditions of the population. Soon the neediest of them received effective assistance. Slums were eliminated, decrepit structures were removed and old ones were repaired and rebuilt. By the beginning of 1980, 1,500 families (8,000 people) had been resettled into new homes. The state grants loans at low interest rates with a deferred payment term of 15-20 years, and completely interest-free, for poor families. The mutual assistance of neighbors and the mobilization--often at the initiative of local party organizations--of the modest resources of the settlement or the quarter have played a large role in the elimination of squalid huts. Housing construction is being carried out by the state housing corporation or its subcontractors. A reform policy has been conducted since February of 1982, in accordance with which citizens living on parcels belonging to landowners obtain the right to acquire home ownership with the financial assistance of the state over the course of five or more years.

The National Assembly adopted new legislation in June 1982 to protect the rights of children and adolescents. The Seychelles is still the only one of the developing states where universal, compulsory, free nine-year schooling for the younger generation has been introduced and is being successfully incorporated, beginning at six years of age. The goal of the new educational reform, planned over ten years, is to grant all children and young men and women equal opportunity for schooling and obtaining justice. The majority of

the 20,000 pupils are receiving free lunches. There are no privileged schools in the Seychelles.

Instruction is conducted in the native Creole language. Three national languages are officially recognized in the Seychelles: Creole, English and French. The Creole language has been declared the primary national language. New textbooks in geography and history have been written in it, and a grammar and a dictionary have been created. Much attention is devoted to study of the social sciences, problems of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and questions of international workers' and national-liberation movements. In 1981, the National Pedagogical Institute was opened--the first higher educational institution in the country--along with the first music school in January of 1985.

The Seychellois leadership allots an important role in the education of the younger generation to radio, television and film. In August of 1983, a protocol was signed between USSR Gostelradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] and Seychelles Teleradio on an exchange of materials in radio and television broadcasting. In 1983, a Soviet-Seychellois astronomical station was open on the island of Mahe that assists students in gaining knowledge in the realms of astronomy, geophysics and geodesy. (Footnote 11) (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. 6 Jul 84.)

The creation of an institution in Seychelles unique to Africa--the National Youth Service (NYS)--should especially be noted. After completing ninth grade of secondary school, the young men and women raise their educational level here over two years, as well as obtain a specialty for working in the national economy. They are educated in the spirit of collectivism and mutual assistance. Aside from general studies and special subjects, classes in physical education, music and fine arts are held. Entry in the NYS camp is voluntary, and stays there are free. Four NYS camps are now functioning, and the opening of another two camps is projected for the near future.

Illiteracy has been almost completely eradicated in the Seychelles. The network of pre-school institutions (38 nurseries serve more than 3,000 children) has been expanded considerably. (Footnote 12) (The Nation. Special Issue. 5 Jun 84, p 9.) The state pays orphans 225 Seychellois rupees a month. The construction of a children's home for 200 people has been started.

Physicians trained in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Cuba are working in the Seychelles. Five years ago there was a total of 3 clinics in the country, while now there are 19. Medical care is free, and a restructuring and modernization of the equipment of the city hospital in the city of Victoria are being conducted to improve it. A new pharmaceutical center has been opened in it.

Over the of years revolutionary-democratic rule, the GNP of the country has tripled. Annual per-capita income is 1,800 dollars (Footnote 13) (Republique des Seychelles.--Europe outremer. Vol 60, 1983, No 646-647, num. spec., p 197.) and is the highest among the countries of Tropical Africa (in pre-revolutionary 1976 it was 520 dollars). (Footnote 14) (Schwarzafrika. Politisches Lexikon. Munchen, 1978, S. 379.)

In recent years, the positions of Seychelles in the international arena has been reinforced considerably. They are a member of the Liberation Committee of the OAU [Organization for African Unity] and an active participant in the non-aligned movement. At their international forums, the Seychelles adhere to a clearly expressed anti-imperialist course and are in favor of the conversion of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, the establishment of a new world economic order and universal and complete disarmament, and are against the adventurist plans of the imperialist powers with regard to Afghanistan.

Along with Madagascar, Mauritius, Comoros and Reunion, the Seychelles are part of the Commission on the Indian Ocean that was formed in December of 1982. The tasks of this commission are the further expansion of regional collaboration in the realm of trade, industry, fishing, air and maritime transport, the study of the wealth of the sea and joint scientific research.

The modern development of the Seychelles is complicated not only by a shortage of financial resources for the development of the national economy, but also by the efforts of domestic and international reaction to destabilize the situation in the country. The counterrevolutionaries, with the support of external forces, have made a series of unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the legal government of the Seychelles. After a raid by mercenaries from South Africa in November of 1981, the provocations against the progressive regime have not ceased. Thus, in August of 1982 there was a mutiny of 200 servicemen at the Union Vale barracks. The mutiny was eliminated in 36 hours.

In October of 1982, the state security organs of the Seychelles uncovered an anti-government plot in London ("The Plot in Number 412"). In December of 1983 it became known that the enemies of the revolution had been planning the murder of President Rene and other leaders of the country. They were also planning the murder of several Americans from the satellite tracking station located in the Seychelles for the purpose of provoking a U.S. intervention in the Seychelles on the order of the American intervention in Grenada. (Footnote 15) (The Nation. 5 Aug 83.) A new plot of a group of servicemen with the aim of overthrowing and killing the president was uncovered in September of 1986. The effort at a coup d'etat did not succeed this time either. (Footnote 16) (Sunday Times. 14 Sep 86.)

With regard to the necessity of defending the conquests of the revolution from both foreign and internal enemies, the question of creating a national-liberation army acquired particular urgency. The armed forces of the Seychelles were created in June of 1977 and number about 1,000 men. In crisis situations, they are assisted by the local militia, made up of PF members (also about 1,000 people). The Seychellois army received its baptism of fire on 25 Nov 81, when a group of mercenaries, the majority of them citizens of South Africa, landed at an airport on the island of Mahe. The resistance offered by the Seychellois soldiers forced the mercenaries to withdraw. The army of the Seychelles, which was earlier trained by Tanzanian officers, has also collaborated with the French armed forces since the beginning of 1982. The diversity of its weapons testifies to the reluctance of the government of the Seychelles to depend on a single supplier alone.

The modern stage of development of the Seychelles is characterized by a deepening of the revolutionary process, a reinforcement of the economy of the country and an increase in the reputation of the PF Party among the masses. This was expressed, in particular, in the course of the voting for F.A. Rene in the elections in June of 1984, when he became president of the republic for a second five-year term, receiving 92.6 percent of the vote. The 6th Regular PF Congress (September 1985) affirmed the policy of developing the country along the path of socialist orientation and expressed full support for Rene as the leader of the PF and the head of state.

The revolutionary-democratic forces of the Seychelles are forced to deal with considerable difficulties. They are associated with the difficult legacy of the recent past and the necessity of the immediate execution of measures for raising the material and cultural living standard of the people and resolving the food problem--all of this with extremely limited funds, opposition to progressive transformations on the part of domestic and foreign reaction and the absence of experience in fundamental social transformations in the specific conditions of the country; the stereotypical thinking and behavior of the masses associated with the colonial past has still not been overcome. Nonetheless, it is correct to conclude that the development of the Seychelles is proceeding along the path of reinforcing the vanguard role of the PF and restructuring society on democratic principles.

Relations of friendship and mutually beneficial collaboration based on a commonality of views on issues of social progress, the preservation of peace on earth and disarmament have taken shape between the Seychelles and the USSR. The Soviet Union assists the young republic in training national personnel and developing the economy. Soviet specialists are working in the Seychelles. Contacts are being developed successfully in the realms of oceanography, medicine and sport. The possibilities for bilateral collaboration in the realm of fishing are being studied. (Footnote 17) (BIKI, 5 Jul 86.)

The Soviet Union respects and supports the policy of non-alignment conducted by the Seychelles and its efforts aimed at the creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, and has a high regard for the support of the Seychellois leadership for peaceful Soviet initiatives aimed at averting the spread of the arms race into space and the peaceful conquest of space. It can be stated with confidence that Soviet-Seychellois relations will develop for the good of the people of both countries in the future as well.

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## IVORY COAST'S DEPENDENCE ON FRENCH CULTURAL VALUES CRITIQUED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 103-108

[Article by A.D. Savateyev: "The Ivory Coast: The 'Westernization' of Culture"]

[Text] The economic and political policies of the country, headed by Ivory Coast President F. Houphouet-Boigny, aimed at reinforcing private-capital enterprise lie at the foundation of the "Westernization" of the Republic of the Ivory Coast overall and of cultural life in particular. A result of the implementation of this policy was the formation of a middle-class and petty-trade industry and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in taste and spiritual needs oriented toward the model of the capitalist West.

The historic ties between the Ivory Coast and France and the close contact of the leaders of the country with the former mother country facilitate the especially great influence of France on all of the life, including on the culture and cultural policy, of the West African states. Coming out in defense of the idea of the Franco-African community as early as in the colonial period, F. Houphouet-Boigny argued that without the all-round participation of the mother country, Africa could not develop. (Footnote 1) (See: J. Woronoff. West Africa Wager: Houphouet versus Nkrumah. Metuchen (N.J.), 1972, p 11.) The strong economic, political and military positions created by the mother country during colonial times open up objective possibilities not only for retaining French "beachheads" in all realms of the social and cultural life of the country, but also for expanding them.

The Ivory Coast was and is a most important support point for French policy in Africa. Since 24 Apr 61, relations between the two countries have been regulated by a treaty and eight collaborative agreements. Many responsible positions in the state power system in the Ivory Coast are now held by Frenchmen: the posts of general secretary of the government and personal secretary to the president; every minister has one or two French advisers in whose hands the real power is concentrated; French citizens make up much of the officer corps of the armed forces and the security services, as well as staff members of the finance and planning ministries. (Footnote 2) (West Africa. London, 1983, No 3431, p 1165.) These people and their way of life and cultural interests are an object of imitation for the local bourgeoisie, whose overall educational level is much lower than the French advisers.

The Ivory Coast also maintains close political and economic contacts with the United States. The nature of these contacts is testified to in particular by the fact that during the visit of F. Houphouet-Boigny to the United States at the beginning of 1983 and his negotiations with President R. Reagan, both parties declared a unity of views on almost all of the issues touched on.

All these factors favor the penetration of Western cultural values, and first of all French ones, and their assimilation by certain social groups in the Ivory Coast. And this moreover concerns both spiritual and material values. (Footnote 3) (See: S.A. Arutyunov. Processes and General Laws of the Introduction of Innovations into Ethnic Culture.--SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA. 1982, No 1, p 11.) The foreign impetus is strengthened by the corresponding measures of the leadership of the Ivory Coast. The dissemination of European manners in behavior and the priority of Western European and North American mores in school students, the extolling of Parisian artists, painters and jewelers in the local press and on radio and television, association of the bureaucratic elite with Western artistic values to the detriment of national ones--all of this testifies convincingly to a consciously conducted policy, as a result of which the country is culturally dependent. The leaders of the country consider this as the sole possible course of cultural development. (Footnote 4) (A. Toure. La civilisation quotidienne en Cote-d'Ivoire: Proces d'occidentalisation. Paris, 1982, p 8.)

Depending on the social group, the psychological inclination of which toward the acceptance of innovations is associated with specific features of upbringing, habit and custom, the readiness for contacts can vary from complete rejection of any elements of a foreign culture (the Muslim-reformists) to the blind copying of customs and norms from abroad (the bureaucratic elite). The overwhelming majority of the population of the Ivory Coast (the communal peasantry, the Muslim clergy, tribal leaders, the workers) accept only certain elements of the cultural complex imported from the West that for a given social segment have practical interest or are compulsory, as, for example, elementary education.

Three simultaneous stages can be discerned in the assimilation of Western innovations in the Ivory Coast: selection; acceptance, or copying; modification (Footnote 5) (S.A. Arutyunov. Op. cit., pp 15-17.), the effect of which is determined by this or that social environment. Selection is most typical for the communal environment: items of the material culture of the Western world that can be used in business or practical activity are assimilated. Reproduction (copying) is manifested first in the customs of the representatives of the bourgeoisie and officialdom who are striving to copy the Western way of life and follow European tastes and standards, not even trying to transform them in accordance with the specific nature of the country. (Footnote 6) (Fraternite-Matin. Abidjan, 19 Sep 77, p 23.) All of this is cultivated and disseminated by the mass media, and television in particular, the influence of which continues to grow. The mass media propagate detailed descriptions of scenes of the everyday life of the bourgeoisie of Western countries, emphasizing the "prettiness" of everyday life, behavior and forms of socializing. Stereotypical depictions of life "there," in France or another capitalist country, result. Western cultural

values, transplanted to local soil and assimilated by the upper reaches of society, provoke changes in the elements of the ethnic cultures that come in contact with them. The social consumption of the ruling segments of society, realized in the local press, radio, film and television, leads to modifications of the local cultures--the third stage of the borrowing process. The result is an acceleration of the collapse of communal and family ties, a strengthening of consumerist inclinations and a spread of bourgeois tastes.

The most powerful influence of the bourgeois West is felt, perhaps, by the system of education and the mass media. The cultivation of officials loyal to the French flag, the formation of the corresponding frame of mind and views among the youth and the training of essential specialist personnel for the middle, and sometimes the highest, echelons of administrative service and industrial and agrarian enterprises are the goals that the powers of the mother country have set for themselves, having set about expanding the educational system in the postwar period. The number of those studying in elementary school in 1960 (the year of the declaration of independence) reached 239,000 compared to some 30,000 in 1950. In secondary school over this same period, it grew from 1,000 to 11,500, and the technical schools numbered some 2,000 students in the same year. (Footnote 7) (J. Woronoff. *Op. cit.*, pp 212-213.) The best graduates of the schools in the postwar period began to be sent not only to the higher educational institutions of Senegal, but the universities of France as well.

After the proclamation of independence for the Ivory Coast, France continues to assist it in the realm of education. Among the 2,000 French specialists working in the Ivory Coast in the first years of its existence, most were teachers, the labor of many of whom was paid for by France. (Footnote 8) (Ibid., p 150.) In 1965 some 1,548 foreign instructors were working here overall: 478 in the elementary educational system, 864 in the secondary and 206 in the technical and higher educational systems. Most were employed in private educational institutions. Thus, they made up 17 percent of the instructors at private elementary schools, while this level was 1.7 percent for the public schools. The reason for this is, of course, the higher pay for teachers in the private schools. The overwhelming majority of the foreign teacher corps is French. In 1985 there were no fewer than 2,000 of them. (Footnote 9) (Financial Times. 23 Jan 85; Africa Report. Vol 30, 1985, No 2, p 37.) Among the instructors there also numbered several dozen members of the American Peace Corps.

Abidjan University, built with French technical and financial support, was completed in 1964. The backbone of the instructor corps was French. Its first rector was French. (Footnote 10) (J. Woronoff. *Op. cit.*, pp 212-213.) Immigrants trying to prolong their stay in a country with a high level of pay for teachers and instructors even by European standards tried to hinder the growth of national pedagogical personnel. Partly for this reason, an Africanization campaign in the educational system did not have proper results. (Footnote 11) (Jeune Afrique. 1982, No 1099, pp 22-24.)

It is natural that the curriculum is even today structured according to the French model. The goal, as one Ivorian professor writes, is "to keep us in the French yoke." (Footnote 12) (Jeune Afrique. 1983, No 1167, p 32.) The

influence of France has also had an effect on the structure of higher education, in which the humanities enjoy priority. Thus, in 1978 some 7,168 students were studying in the humanities departments (literature, theology, psychology, law etc.) at the National University of the Ivory Coast while the natural sciences and medicine had 2,483 people. (Footnote 13) (Calculated from: Universites. Vol 4. Montreal, 1983, No 1, p 40.) Only in 1983 did the number of graduates obtaining a bachelor's degree in the natural and exact sciences surpass the number of those awarded a degree in the humanities. (Footnote 14) (West Africa. 1983. No 3442, p 1787.)

The penetration of Western cultural standards is aided by the training of young African specialists in the capitalist countries, the well-known commonality of languages (French is an official language of the Ivory Coast), cultural exchange, in which an especial role is played by the import of art films, the activity of cultural centers, the granting of credit for cultural needs, saturation of the local market with prints of music and paintings etc.

The Ivory Coast actively sends its students to the capitalist countries as before. In 1982, some 3,475 citizens of the Ivory Coast (out of 3,548 studying outside the borders of the country) were at the higher educational institutions of capitalist countries, and moreover 2,673 of them were in France. (Footnote 15) (Calculated from: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1984. Paris, 1984, pp III-422.) This makes it possible for the ruling circles of Western states to have a direct influence on the formation of the political, social, aesthetic and moral views of the intelligentsia of the Ivory Coast.

The cultural environment of the upper echelons in the Ivory Coast, which has the opportunity of visiting France and other European and North American countries constantly, is formed as before under the strong influence of the French language, which is thus becoming one of the means of ensuring the presence of France in that country. "Confirmation of this is the behavior and the social and consumer models of the African French-speaking elite. Thousands of Africans, wearing dark official suits in the French style... will probably continue in the future to live and buy, oriented toward the French, at least for the duration of the life of this generation, and will pass on their habits to future generations." (Footnote 16) (M. Wolfers. Black Man's Burden Revisited. London, 1974, p 26.)

The "evoluees," i.e. those people who have mastered the French language and have adopted the basics of French culture (often just the outward ones) are striving en masse to isolate themselves from their "unenlightened" fellow tribesmen. As a rule, these people occupy a much higher position in society than the communal masses. Undoubtedly, however, the incorporation of the French language has expanded the cultural horizons of the literate population and facilitated an acquaintance with the leading achievements of French civilization in all realms of knowledge as well as a struggle against the odious remnants of the past.

The use of the French language as the sole language of education has become one of the factors furthering the relative failure of the campaign begun in 1966 to eliminate illiteracy, the purpose of which was to achieve universal literacy. The causes consisted not only of the poor mastery or complete



ignorance of French: the use of French in this campaign was taken by some of the illiterate as colonial coercion. And they had grounds for this, insofar as the campaign was conducted by roughly "the same methods as before--colonial operations." (Footnote 17) (A. Toure. Op. cit., p 110.)

The elementary-school pupils of the Ivory Coast especially demonstrate the expansion of the cultural, ideological and political institutions of the bourgeois West. They are the most shining example of how cultural values acquire the social and political meaning necessary to the ruling classes of the country and the dominant circles of the Western powers. Beginning with the primer of the first grader, the major portion of the words illustrating the letters of the alphabet emphasize the reality of a foreign, Western world. (Footnote 18) (Ibid., p 124.) The material for study looks even more biased. Here is a typical example: "Salifu goes to his parents in the field. Rene goes with him. He greets Salifu's parents: 'Bonjour, monsieur, bonjour, madame!'" (Footnote 19) (Ibid.) Rene does not address them with the words "papa" and "mama," which are the traditional address of an African and an expression of respect with regard not only to one's own parents, but to elders in general. The expressions "monsieur" and "madame" in this situation make it possible to suppose that Rene in this manner wants to emphasize his isolation from the world of the village and his affiliation with another culture. People with African names, as a rule, do the dirty work. (Footnote 20) (Ibid.) People with European names live according to European canons and correspondingly occupy a higher social position. The children are inculcated with the concept of the indisputable advantages acquired from birth that people with European names have, their affiliation with the upper reaches of society and the right to lead Africans. This thrust in the textbook cannot help but trouble the intelligentsia that is worried about the fate of the cultural future of the Ivory Coast.

The content of European or domestic textbooks, superficially adapted to local realities, is poorly assimilated by the students, insofar as the student does not encounter similar realities in his environment. The world view of the child thus takes shape under the influence of attitudes artificially created by the authors that are basically structured to imitate French models.

The cultural influence of the West is based on the financial dependency of the Ivory Coast for the realization of cultural projects. The West first allocates funds for the development of those areas of culture that ensure the greatest influence for them. The discussion chiefly concerns the education and training of specialists. The personnel trained with French funds, in Paris, become a reliable social foundation for the influence of France in the Ivory Coast. The total amount of foreign assistance allocated for financing education totaled 3 billion CFA francs in 1964, i.e. about 12 million dollars (29 percent of all Ivorian spending on education). (Footnote 21) (L. Cerych. *L'Aide exterieure et la planification de l'education en Cote-d'Ivoire*. Paris, 1967, p 15.) Almost a billion CFA francs (32 percent of foreign aid) in 1965 were earmarked for the needs of higher education, and 42.3 percent of the total amount of foreign investment in education was for secondary schooling. (Footnote 22) (Ibid., pp 15-16.) The lion's share of these funds went to Abidjan University.

Among the foreign "donors," first place is naturally occupied by France (80 percent of total foreign aid in 1964), in second place are the remaining countries of the European Economic Community, and third is the United States. (Footnote 23) (Ibid., p 17.) The current significance of foreign investment, largely French, remains considerable as well, notwithstanding the notable successes of the Ivory Coast in economics and culture. Thus, France invests half of the funds designated for financing the scientific research institutes joined in the Study and Research Group of Tropical Cultivation and the Administration of Overseas Scientific and Technical Research. The question is being considered of the French paying for the labor of all scientists and graduate students working in the Ivory Coast. (Footnote 24) (Jeune Afrique. 1982, No 1102, pp 34-35.) Along with UNESCO, the World Bank, the UN Development Program, the ILO and the Ford Foundation, France participates in financing a program to equip all of the elementary schools of the Ivory Coast with television systems. Cultural exchange is widely used as a form of cultural expansion, in the organization of which the leading role belongs to the cultural centers. (Footnote 25) (Jeune Afrique. 1983, No 1161, p 74.)

Bourgeois Western culture has had a substantial effect on the development of the whole cultural process in the Ivory Coast. First of all, a cultural environment has been created in Ivorian society that is genetically and spiritually linked first of all with Western "mass culture." This enclave of Western culture in the Ivory Coast, expanding and deepening the sphere of its operation, especially in the sphere of material welfare, actively opposes the traditional and neo-traditional (Muslim) cultures of the peoples of the country. The bearers of the new culture are basically the bureaucratic elite, the national bourgeoisie and a considerable portion of the intelligentsia.

Second, the saturation of the culture with foreign models and values is making social tension more and more acute, and has become the cause of speeches against Western education and the intelligentsia becoming more French. The February (1982) student strike at Abidjan University was at the same time an expression of protest against the domination of foreigners (i.e. the French) in the key and most highly paid jobs. (Footnote 26) (West Africa. 1983, No 3429, p 1082.) In April of 1983 the government of the Ivory Coast, striving to suppress the strike of 4,000 secondary-school teachers and higher-education instructors protesting against the abolition of the right to free housing, appealed for support to the masses most backward in a cultural sense. The latter came out on the side of the government; they tried to destroy the educational institutions and came out with threats directed against the striking instructors, considering them to be the bearers of a foreign--Western--culture and a hostile morality. (Footnote 27) (West Africa. 1983, No 3431, pp 1164-1165; Jeune Afrique. 1983, No 1166, pp 24-27.)

Third, the penetration of bourgeois culture into society, in its essence anti-humanitarian, and the copying of Western institutions in the realm of education without taking specific national features into account has had two social consequences. The first is the unemployment among the degreed specialists that has burst out in recent years and encompasses chiefly the humanities. According to unofficial data, about 2,000 graduates of the philological and juridical departments of Abidjan University are looking for work. (Footnote 28) (Jeune Afrique. 1982, No 1104, p 14.) According to

other information, unemployment currently encompasses even higher segments of the managers (1,100-1,200 people) and 5,000 middle-level employees. (Footnote 29) (Jeune Afrique. 1982, No 1099, p 22.) Abidjan University "has become a factory for the output of the unemployed." (Footnote 30) (Ibid., p 24.) The problem of finding work is one of the principal causes of the student unrest that occurred in February of 1982. A second consequence is the raging crime level in Abidjan. A definite influence here is Western detective stories and Hong Kong and American film and television, which have an effect on the young.

Fourth, the "Westernization" of culture has led to a sharp reduction in the significance of traditional African cultures, which are used in official cultural policy only to attract foreign tourists. In the cities and villages, the traditional items are replaced by primitive imitations of Western models produced in the Ivory Coast and devoid of human content. The forms and content of the objects of artisans are converging.

The president of the Ivory Coast and his circle propose that modernization of the country can be accomplished only according to the prototype and models of the capitalist West. Therefore, the channels are opened "from above" for the arrival of molds and models arriving from the West, and first of all from France, that are engendered by mass culture. These standardized pseudo-values are not simply copied, but are reproduced in Ivorian society itself. Furthermore, they are beginning to be developed independently.

At the same time, the cultural influence of the capitalist countries is accompanied by the assimilation of a number of values without which it is impossible for any country to develop under conditions of modern scientific and technical revolution. The intellectual and financial assistance of France has facilitated an expansion of the world view and informed nature of the population of the Ivory Coast and the comparatively rapid (by African measure) development of education and growth in the number of specialists, first of all in the humanities, which has had a positive effect on the economic growth rate. Thanks to the widespread participation of French scientists in the establishment of science and higher education, the national research institutes of the Ivory Coast have been able to achieve successes in the realm of agronomy and medicine that have brought individual sectors of these sciences to leading positions in West Africa.

Overall, the "Westernization" of the culture of the Ivory Coast has deepened social and cultural differentiation in society and increased the schism between the pro-Western culture of the ruling segments and the culture of the broad mass of the people. The country is to a certain extent losing the originality of its national culture, replacing it with a surrogate of Western bourgeois values.

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ROUNDTABLE: TRADITION'S ROLE IN EASTERN STATES' MODERNIZATION

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 115-119

[Article by Yu.D. Mikhaylova and Ye.A. Torchinov: "The Cultural Legacy in the Social Development of the Countries of the Orient in the Period of Modernization"]

[Text] A roundtable devoted to the problem of interpreting the cultural legacy of the countries of the Orient in the process of modernization was held in February of this year at the Leningrad Branch of the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Participating in its work were researchers on the Near East (D.V. Yermakov, I.L. Piotrovskaya, M.B. Piotrovskiy, Ye.A. Rezvan, I.Sh. Shifman), Turkey (N.A. Dulina, I.Ye. Petrosyan), Iran (O.F. Akimushkin), India (Ye.P. Ostrovskaya), China (L.N. Menshikov, Ye.A. Torchinov), Japan (V.N. Goreglyad, Yu.D. Mikhaylova) and Africa (I.Ye. Samarin). This turn to the problem of the cultural legacy was provoked by the fact that a process of rethinking the role of traditions in social development is occurring lately in the Oriental societies themselves. The participants in the roundtable discussed the effect of traditional factors in the countries of the modern Orient, moreover primarily considering the non-socialist-oriented states.

In directing the attention of the roundtable participants toward the socio-psychological nature of various aspects of the process of economic and ideological restructuring in the countries of Asia and Africa, M.B. Piotrovskiy emphasized that to call the era of gradual transition of the greater portion of humanity (the developing countries) from pre-capitalist formations toward the capitalist era of development modernization is correct and at the same time incorrect. It is incorrect because the essence of this era is the natural sequential development of society, the substitution of socio-economic formations, and not a "gravitation" toward any prototypical "modern" level. At the same time, it is correct because at many stages of the deep and multifaceted transformations in the countries of the Orient on a socio-psychological plane, their participants and even their initiators have frequently taken what has occurred for modernization and the construction of modern prototypes. In evaluations of this transitional era, objective factors have become intertwined with subjective ones, not only in real life, but in the works of its researchers as well. The evaluations, terminology, accents and priority problems advanced by science sometimes experience the same

evolution as the object of study. That is somewhat how the matter stands with the study and evaluation of the role of traditions in the modern development of the Orient as well.

Until the end of the 1960s, the opinion was widespread that the modernization of all aspects of life in the developing countries was a direct path toward surmounting their backwardness and dependency. Researchers were also distracted by the problems of traditions becoming obsolete, surmounting them in the basis and the superstructure, seeing them as a remnant doomed to extinction. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, deep disillusionment with regard to the impossibility of jumping from backward to progressive countries with the aid of capitalist modernization and the assimilation of the Western economic system and the value orientations associated with it was replaced with hopes of a new "leap" based on the legacy of tradition and experience. It was namely then that diverse theories of a "third path," the practice of Muslim solidarity, ideas of Islamic fundamentalism etc. acquired widespread popularity.

This has aroused great interest in the role of traditions in Oriental studies. It has frequently grown into exaggerated attention toward these traditions and a depiction of their role in the modern Orient as practically dominant.

Today, emphasized M.B. Piotrovskiy, the time has come to sum up some of the results. This has been done most completely and successfully, in our opinion, by Soviet scholars in the book "Evolution of Oriental Societies: A Synthesis of the Traditional and the Modern" (Moscow, 1985). The specific features of various versions of the correlation of traditions and innovations in the Oriental countries, however, have still not been studied sufficiently. The presence of important theoretical premises and the development of a theory of synthesis make possible a new approach to the analysis of many well-known situations. It currently seems necessary to make a deeper study of various typical traits of traditional societies and to research traditional texts of a culture that are the bearers of the actual traditions and traditionality in the countries of the Orient.

Ye.P. Ostrovskaya noted the significance of researching the sociological aspect of tradition in modern Oriental societies. In her opinion, today only those traditions that continue to play a role as social regulators are functional. Consequently, it is especially important to direct attention toward the synchronous form and method of the existence of tradition. Associated with this is the problem of correlating traditional and transnational values in the social consciousness of the developing countries. The traditional groups (the clergy, a considerable portion of the peasantry) are the bearers of traditional ideology, and the modern functioning of traditions is perceived by them to be identical to that in the past. The transnational groups are diverse in social composition (the petty and middle-class bourgeois, the intelligentsia). The transnationalists, as a rule, receive a European-type education and have a high regard for the technological aspects of Western civilization. At the same time, nationalism and an exaggeration of the significance of traditional values as a social stabilizing factor is typical of them. Thus, transnationalist values are formed on the basis of traditional ones as a result of a directed theoretical reflex, a

distinctive "pass" through the filter of the ideology of nationalism. Traditional values are reflected in the historical types of thought characteristic of pre-capitalist formations. These are a mosaic of values, internally contradictory and "accountable" to several worlds simultaneously: the world of pre-capitalist society and the world of the capitalist or socialist society. A common feature of the traditional and transnational types of values is an orientation toward a classed world. It is essential to take this circumstance into account in analyzing the ideological situation overall, as well as in forecasting the development of transnational groups.

V.N. Goreglyad noted that in discussing the problem of correlating traditional (Eastern) and modern (Western) values in the modernization process of the countries of the Orient, researchers frequently address the question of the so-called "Japanese path" of development. The study of the transition of Japan from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist formation visibly demonstrates those changes in evaluations of the significance of the tradition factor that have existed in scholarly works of the last three decades. The works of Soviet historians of recent years show that the rapid development of monopoly capitalism in Japan was facilitated not only by the successful utilization of the experience of Western countries, but also several traditional forms of organizing social production in the country--the presence of a great deal of royal ownership in combination with the tradition of regulating production "from above."

Yu.D. Mikhaylova proposed that in researching the question of the modernization of Japan and its acceptance of Western civilization in the 19th century, the fact that a mechanism for adopting and refining foreign culture had taken shape in this country over the course of centuries be taken into account. The Japanese cultural tradition is young compared, say, to Chinese or Indian tradition. It was precisely this that to a considerable extent facilitated the "ease" with which the adoption of Buddhism and Confucianism by the Japanese occurred in the middle of the first millennium. Periods of active acceptance of Chinese culture were later replaced by periods of its assimilation and refinement. The extant mechanism of adaptation of the culture of China thus was manifested in the 19th century with regard to the culture of the West and provided for the relative efficiency of its utilization in Japan. It is, of course, essential to take into account a number of other factors as well--foreign and domestic--that in the aggregate defined the intrinsically "Japanese path" of development.

The specific nature of the "Japanese path" is becoming more and more apparent in a comparison with the history of other Oriental countries that entered onto the path of modernization comparatively early--Turkey and China. N.A. Dulina approached this problem from the position of analyzing traditional forms of ownership in the Ottoman Empire in the period of its transition toward reforms of a bourgeois nature and the effect of these forms on bourgeois forms of ownership. In her opinion, the socio-economic structure of the Ottoman Empire up to Tanzimat could not facilitate the development of capitalist relations, insofar as it did not ensure the security of the life and property of the owner. The private sector that arose spontaneously was constantly oppressed by the central powers and could not become structure-forming. During the period of the reforms of Tanzimat, the sultan's government also preserved

state ownership of the land and forbid private property and its free sale. The agents of Tanzimat were afraid to permit too much freedom in the development of capitalist relations and strove to preserve the traditional centralism of state administration. Thus, the system of state regulations characteristic of the Ottoman Empire hindered to a considerable extent the establishment of capitalist relations.

I.Ye. Petrosyan emphasized that the traditional system of state regulations in Turkey was also reflected in the nature of the reformist movement of the 19th century. The principal attention of the reformers was devoted to transformations in the legal sphere: a series of legislation appeared chiefly concerning the superstructure institutions of society. Very little attention was devoted therein to questions of actual economic policy--the creation of conditions for the appearance of capitalist-type enterprises.

The comparative analysis of the role of the cultural legacy in the social development of the countries of the Orient was continued by L.N. Menshikov. He noted that as opposed to Japan, Chinese culture was formed as a kind of monolith, where development was implemented gradually through internal evolution. Considering itself to be self-sufficient, Chinese culture had a very cautious attitude toward borrowing from alien cultures. The supremacy of European arms during the opium wars convinced the Chinese of the necessity of modernization, the striving toward which was "hidden" and grounded on a references to Chinese texts that were rethought (Kang Youwei). Another line of modernization also existed that was oriented toward Japan. Its essence was reduced to the replacement of traditional Chinese culture with European culture. But every time, such efforts provoked an answering reaction which was expressed in an intensive study of Chinese culture, literature and the like. Thus, everything taken up by the Chinese was subjected to prolonged thought from the point of view of traditional Chinese culture. It can be said overall that the mechanism of adaptation of alien culture in China was different than in Japan. It was more inclined toward slow evolutionary development than toward radical changes.

Ye.A. Torchinov offered an analysis of the problem of the interaction of modern and traditional forms of science in China from the point of view of the conditional nature of the development of science and technology through the development of productive forces. He noted that with the penetration of the capitalist powers into China in the middle of the 19th century, certain circles of the ruling class felt it was possible to transplant the achievements of Western technology onto Chinese soil, without altering thereby either the socio-political organization of Chinese society or the system of cultural values. In reality, however, this was impossible, insofar as Western science itself has appeared in the process of forming capitalist relations, which led to a crisis of traditional forms of ideology and the rejection of the depiction of the world of the Middle Ages. Consequently, the assimilation of Western science and technology by other traditional societies could not be a mechanical process and required the radical transformation of both social relations and ideology. The qualitative distinction in the level of development of science in Europe and China dates from the beginning of the 17th century, when in the process of developing capitalist relations a new methodology of scientific research was created in Europe (G. Galileo, I.

Newton), at the same time as in China science continued to exist within the framework of a traditional and medieval type of culture. Thus, in describing the correlation of traditional and modern forms of science, it is essential to take into account their link with the principal base characteristics of this or that society.

With regard to the problem of studying the development paths of Oriental societies in the modernization process, D.V. Yermakov directed attention to the fact that a transnational concept of "renewal" is largely typical of Islamic society, most clearly embodied in the religious and political Hanbalites that are extremely influential in our time as well. The Hanbalites required and require a "cleansing" of the economic, political and spiritual life of the people and a return to an idealized past of an initial commune of Muslims, on the example of the life of the prophet, along with the restoration of the unlimited authority of the Koran, and they sharply condemn innovations that distort the former purity.

All of these transnational institutions and this transnational "purification" are in fact a distinctive mechanism for adapting ideology to the new requirements of the times. This mechanism is exceedingly popular, and it is no accident that in our time it is being used once again for the resurrection of the influence of Islam among the masses.

Ye.A. Rezvan showed how, in Arab-Muslim society, the ideological and political struggle is reflected in the tafsirs (commentaries on the Koran). Reflecting the clash of Muslim society and European philosophical and scientific thought, the Muslim reformist movement of late has tried, with the aid of treatments of the Koran, to on the one hand declare the latest scientific achievements and social concepts as supposedly already foretold in the Koran (Darwinism--verse 13:17, the conquest of space--verse 55:33, democracy--verse 42:36) and in that manner to hinder any diminution in the authority of the holy text, and on the other hand to introduce modern scientific concepts to the wide environment of the Muslim readers, making them at the same time acceptable in the context of traditional religious and philosophical values and concepts.

The "free" approach to understanding the Koran has engendered its own opposition in the works of the fundamentalists. The tafsirs also reflect appeals for a return to traditional Muslim values. These appeals, provoked by disillusionment with the consequences of modernization, and at their foundation--the lack of correspondence of social creation to the achieved level of development of productive forces and industrial relations--are sounded especially persistently recently. An analysis of modern Muslim movements shows that the boundary between "conservative" and "progressive" and "topical" and "not topical" is constantly shifting. The ideas and conceptions in the Koran are being rethought in accordance with new needs and demands. An actualization of primordial Koran concepts is also occurring. All of this facilitates the preservation of the role of the Koran in the ideological life of the Muslim countries. The symbolism, parables and tales of the Koran are widely used in artistic literature, the mass media and by political figures. They awaken a wide range of associations among listeners, and their use programs a known reaction. In many cases, an understanding of the specific nature of the modern ideological and political struggle in the Muslim



countries is impossible without the inclusion of Koran materials.

Examples of the functioning of traditional values in the modernization process are also produced by the oil-producing countries of the Persian Gulf. As I.L. Piotrovskaya demonstrated, two trends have been noted in these countries in recent years: the rapid modernization of the socio-economic structure (the creation of energy-oriented capital-intensive enterprises and financial and credit centers with regional and international significance) and a striving to use certain traditions that could help the ruling levels of these countries to retain their position in society, remove the threat of social disorganization and ensure stability in the country and the region overall.

Based on principles of patronage, clientele and protection, serving to form the relations between rich and poor, the Gulf countries are making their credit activities in relation to the developing countries more active. The terms of assistance are of a preferential nature to a considerable extent. So-called Islamic banks are being created on the wave of the "Islamic boom" in the countries of the Persian Gulf whose activity is based on the Islamic principle from the Middle Ages of the prohibition of riba (loan interest) and modern banking practice by the Koran. As a result, a new model of a credit and financial institution has appeared in the economic life of the Gulf countries that is currently functioning successfully. The example of Kuwait, a principal direction of the development of which is the creation of a financial and credit center of international significance, makes it possible to conclude that this country is developing as a rentier-state whose future is directly associated with interest from investments abroad. Thus, the rapid modernization of the Gulf countries along the capitalist path is leading both to the rejection of traditional institutions and to the creation of new synthesized models, using suitable prototypes of the past in their modern development.

A consideration of modern African doctrines of socio-economic development, and in particular the ujamaa in Tanzania, also permits the delineation of a number of specific features of the manifestation of tradition. As noted by I.Ye. Samarin, traditional representations are used to consolidate the modern dedicated institutions of development, where the level of social consciousness makes their acceptance by the masses more difficult. A typical example is the teaching of the ujamaa on ownership. One of its basic provisions--public ownership--is associated with a high level of development of productive forces. The consolidation of this principle among the masses is accomplished through the direct reduction of public property to the group (commune), well known to the farming population of the country and preserved in Tanzania right up to the present day. The treatment of traditional socio-economic institutions by ideologists of the ujamaa are defined by the specific tasks of economic construction and change as the latter change. Thus, up until 1967 the ujamaa laid principal emphasis in the construction of society on the development of a spirit of collectivism and mutual support seemingly inherent to Africans. At the same time, these qualities were proclaimed as the foundations of the traditional (pre-colonial) organization of society. In the 1970s, the practice of economic life led to a re-orientation in the construction of ujamaa society on intrinsic forces. Turning to the treatment of the traditional past in ujamaa documents of this period, it can be noted

that tenets on the food nature of cultivated grains, the sufficiency of hand tools of labor and the possibility of development without foreign support now predominate. In essence, all of these tenets are a detailed exposition of the principle of being supported by one's own resources. Thus, the treatment of the traditional past is subordinated to the present in the ujamaa.

Summing up the results of the discussion of several aspects of the problem of the cultural legacy in the social development of the countries of the Orient in the period of modernization, the participants in the roundtable noted that the correctness of the conclusion that in these countries, as a rule, economic development is proceeding more intensively and is being implemented in shorter time periods than the qualitative restructuring of social consciousness, ideology and spiritual culture has been repeatedly confirmed. In this regard, the necessity of carrying out modernization is frequently clothed in traditional garb, which makes the modernization better founded and justified for the members of traditional societies. Out of the aggregate of traditions, vitality is retained only by those elements that are able to function as social regulators. This is most clearly manifested using the example of the re-interpretation of traditional texts and the use of forms of traditional ideology in social movements recently. In a number of cases (Japan, the Persian Gulf countries), socio-cultural factors that have taken shape over many centuries facilitate the implementation of modernization.

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## ORIENTAL INSTITUTE HOSTS CONFERENCE ON CHINESE STATE, SOCIETY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 120-125

[Article by Ye.B. Porshneva, N.M. Kalyuzhskaya and S.A. Serova: "The 17th Scientific Conference 'Society and State in China'"]

[Excerpts] Representatives of over 30 scientific research institutes, higher educational institutions, publishers, libraries and museums took part in the conference, which took place February 5th to 7th at the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The published materials of the conference comprise some 116 theses, speeches and papers concerning a broad range of issues. (Footnote 1) (See: The 17th Scientific Conference "Society and State in China." Thesis papers. Parts 1-3. Moscow, 1986. Editor-in-chief and compiler A.I. Kobzev and A.N. Khokhlov. Editors O.V. Zotov, A.I. Kobzev, A.A. Krushinskiy, A.N. Khokhlov.) Central were issues of the history and culture of ancient and medieval China, the complex socio-economic, political and ideological situation at the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, and characteristic features of the modern situation.

The first session was opened by the chief of the China Department of the Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, L.P. Delyusin, who expressed confidence that the conference participants would continue in the direction set out at it--discovering the role of China in the worldwide historical process and its contribution to the spiritual culture of mankind. PRC scholars are also devoting particular attention to precisely these problems.

A noticeable place at the conference was occupied by problems in relating the culture of China and the West and a rethinking of traditional Chinese ideas and teachings with regard to the inclusion of China in the worldwide process. O.V. Shatalov (LGPI [Leningrad State Pedagogical Institute imeni A.I. Herzen]), in his paper "Missionaries in China and the European Enlightenment," reviewed an issue that has been widely studied in the West but little developed by Oriental studies here--the role of missionaries in disseminating enlightening literature about China. The paper of K.V. Pleshakov (United States of America and Canada Institute) titled "The Image of the United States in Old China" was devoted to the policy conducted since the beginning of the 20th century by the United States, which has as its goal the creation of an idealized form of bourgeois-liberal America among the Chinese, as a consequence of which there was a confrontation within Guomindang between pro-

American and nationalist trends. The problems of translating European abstract vocabulary using the Chinese language was mentioned in the paper of A.A. Krushinskiy (Oriental Studies Institute of the Academy of Sciences) "The Chinese Language and Western Theories." The speaker used his own experience in translating Yan Fu to illustrate his positions, and in particular the selection by the latter of the Chinese word "xuan" ("secrecy," "steaming") as the closest equivalent of the European concept of "abstraction."

The topic of the paper of L.N. Borokh (Oriental Studies Institute) "The Attitude of Sun Yatsen toward Taoist Utopias" has not yet been considered by researchers. In his opinion, the topic's importance is furthered by the link in the perception by Sun Yatsen of such concepts of Western political thought as "utopia" and "freedom" with his rethinking of Taoist traditions. Having analyzed his earlier works, L.N. Borokh came to the conclusion that Sun Yatsen's understanding of utopia is idle dreaming and empty chimera (xuwu), and not the ideal Datun, system of jing tian or a program of the T'ai P'ing. He uncovered the substance of this concept through the method of analogy: utopia--this is a country of Huaxushi, described in the Taoist text "lie zi." Interpreting this ideal world, Sun Yatsen emphasized the absence of attributes of statehood (a system of administration, legislative statutes etc.). The theory of the unlimited nature of freedom, in the opinion of the speaker, served as the basis for analogy between the study of the Taoists and modern anarchism. Both the Taoist ideal (Huaxushi) and the concept of the anarchists equally provoked a negative attitude in Sun Yatsen as teachings that develop the idea of "absolute freedom." The Taoist tradition affected his comprehension of the ideas of Western liberalism, and first and foremost the concept of "freedom" included in the context of Chinese culture with the aid of the expression ziyou, associated with Taoism and making fully possible its integration in the spirit of a rejection of the state and any power at all. When the concept of "freedom" had already entered the political vocabulary of China, a quarter century after its first treatments in the works of Yan Fu (Footnote 8) (See: A.A. Krushinskiy. Treatment of Liberalism in the Works of Yan Fu: Semantics of the Expression "ziyou" as its Conceptual Foundation.-- 13th Scientific conference "Society and State in China." Theses and papers. Part 3. Moscow, 1982, pp 63-73.), the leader of the revolution included a terminological analysis of ziyou in his lecture "Three Popular Principles." He chose "fang dang bu ji" ("riding without a bridle") as a synonym to the term "freedom." In a socio-political aspect, noted L.N. Borokh, Sun Yatsen understood freedom as the absence of discipline and unity, as the predomination of personal interests over the interests of the nation-state. This interpretation of ziyou also defined the nature of his concept of freedom as part of the teaching of the three popular principles. To the question of N.I. Tyapkina on the traditional sources of egalitarian representations of Sun Yatsen, L.N. Borokh answered that this is a topic for individual specialized research. L.P. Delyusin noted that the question of the substance of the term "freedom" is now being widely discussed in the PRC, including on the pages of the party press (for example, the journal HONGQI).

In his talk, A.V. Lukin (Oriental Studies Institute) described such modern representatives of Confucianism as Xiong Shili, Liang Shuming, Feng Youlan and others. They, striving to modernize Confucianist and neo-Confucianist ideas, include some of the theories of Western philosophy for these purposes. The

speaker noted the growth in the popularity of such ideas in the PRC.

Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy spoke on the First International Conference on the Study of Chinese Culture that took place January 3 to 10 of this year at Fudan University (Shanghai). The conference, in which participated, aside from a large group of scholars of the PRC representing various areas of humanities, well-known Sinologists from the United States, Canada, West Germany and other countries (Soviet Chinese studies was represented by S.L. Tikhvinskiy), concentrated on the problem of humanist principles characteristic of the Chinese cultural tradition, and at the same time on the discovery of the cardinal aspects and features that bring it closer to Western culture. (Footnote 9) (In the words of S.L. Tikhvinskiy, in some speeches the Chinese scholars expressed "open admiration of their own culture" which, however, as the speaker noted, it (Chinese culture) completely deserves.)

Much attention at the conference was devoted to the socio-economic and political aspects of the recent history of China. The paper of O.Ye. Nepomnin (Oriental Studies Institute) "The Mechanism of Class Shift in China, 1909-1949" was devoted to the changing forms of statehood that occurred over the indicated period in two stages, each of which developed according to the standard cycle of "monarchy--democracy--dictatorship." Describing in detail the dynamics of this mechanism, the speaker showed that the Chinese path, rather than a change in the corresponding actual stages of the formational development of types of statehood (absolutism, Bonapartism and bourgeois democracy), represented a shift of various types of political synthesis whose foundation was an extremely backward traditional type of statehood. The "worn and waning" elements of the three types of statehood cited joined to this foundation in the process of synthesis, in O.Ye. Nepomnin's opinion, led only to the gradual and measured transformation of the basis of the synthesis. Thus, just as in the economic sphere, formational transition in China did not lead to the substitution of capitalism for feudalism, and in the sphere of the superstructure this "transitional nature" was not marked by an affirmation of a new type of statehood. The revolutions of 1911-1913, 1916 and 1925-1927 led not to the pulling down of despotism, but to its adaptation to new conditions. A real and class compromise between the "class-state" and the economically ruling class did not occur: it was replaced by a formal synthesis on the level of the type of statehood. The speaker concluded that all three revolutions did not lead to the victory of the bourgeoisie and the appearance of a capitalist society in China. Before the victory of the revolution of 1949, the country had not passed through the stage of mature capitalism with its corresponding form of bourgeois-democratic statehood. This bypassing of three formational phases and the types of statehood they engender was a typological distinguishing feature of the Chinese variant of evolution.

L.A. Bereznyy (Leningrad State University), in the paper "The Nature of the Revolutionary Process in China: A Problem in Soviet Historiography," expressed the opinion that in the face of all of the achievements in this sphere in our Chinese studies, there is still no adequate definition of the nature and dynamics of the development of the revolutionary process over the three decades it encompasses. In particular, in the opinion of the author, the problem of the "Soviet movement" merits serious analysis. According to the observation of A.V. Meliksetov (MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of

International Relations]], the role of the "Soviet movement" should not be re-oriented, since it was reduced first and foremost to a purely agitational one, remaining in reality more of a slogan than a reality. In the paper "The Question of the Peasant Nature of the Chinese Revolution," A.V. Meliksetov cited not the attitude toward ownership of the land, but rather the attitude toward power as the chief factor in the struggle in the village in the 1930s and 1940s. The clash, in the opinion of the speaker, occurred not between the landed and those without land, but between the former traditional village "elite" (the village elders, the shenshi etc.) and the new one--the village committees organized by the communists. It was namely the appearance of a new power and a new village "elite" and the opportunity to be included in it that was the critical factor that moved millions peasants and led them into the ranks of the participants in the revolutionary movement. A.S. Kostyeva posed a question to the speaker of to what extent the new power was accepted by the village masses as "their own." A.V. Meliksetov answered that this is a complex question and, probably, the reaction of the peasants was determined by the aggregate of the circumstances that permitted them to or hindered them from feeling the new power as "their own." The papers of L.A. Bereznyy and A.V. Meliksetov provoked a lively discussion that continued in questions and exchange of opinions among the conference participants. Yu.M. Garushyants (Oriental Studies Institute) reproached A.V. Meliksetov for a certain exaggeration in the size and forms of the participation of the peasant masses in the political struggle. At the same time, in the opinion of Yu.M. Garushyants, L.A. Bereznyy was following too literally the Leninist thesis of the development of a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one, which was incorrect as applied to the specific historical situation in China of the 1920s and 1930s that was being analyzed. In the paper of A.A. Maslov (ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa]) "Secret Societies in China in the 1930s and 1940s," data were cited on the attraction of the secret societies to their side by the CCP (as opposed to Guomindang).

Ya.M. Berger (INION [Scientific Information Institute for the Social Sciences]) discussed the modern problems of the Chinese village, noting in particular that successes in agriculture have led to a so-called "granary crisis" and the need to reduce the rate of agricultural production by half. Ye.N. Rumyantsev (IDV [Far East Institute]) analyzed the modern state of the problem of hieroglyphic text in the PRC, typical of which is a combination of striving for its simplification for the purpose of easing the growth of literacy with a tendency toward the preservation of the cultural language with the traditional full tracing of the hieroglyphs. A.D. Dikarev (Oriental Studies Institute) showed and commented on slides that he and A.V. Lukin took on a trip to Tibet in 1985.

Ye.A. Torchinov, Ye.V. Zavadskaya and A.I. Kobzev spoke at the concluding session of the conference, expressing their observations and desires relative to the work of the conference. The results of the conference were summarized by L.P. Delyusin.

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## CONFERENCE OF JAPANISTS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 140-144

[Unattributed article: "International Conference of Japan Scholars of Socialist Countries"]

[Excerpts] The conference was held in May of this year. More than 300 Soviet scholars from Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk and Vladivostok, representing Oriental-studies centers, higher-educational institutions and practical organizations, participated in its work. Scholars from East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Mongolia and Cuba took part in the work of the conference. Some 89 papers and 54 speeches at the plenary sessions and in five sections--economics; history and politics; ideology, sociology and culture; literary studies; and, linguistics--were heard in all. Many speeches and papers provoked lively discussion.

There has long been a need to hold such a conference. The number of Japan scholars in the USSR has increased considerably in recent years. A clearly expressed trend toward narrow specialization has existed therein. Frequently, such specialization predominates over national studies. The development of broad comprehensive themes, moreover, and the posing of large-scale questions requires a regard not only for a narrow specialized perspective, but a national-studies one as well. Another problem, raised in the paper of I.A. Latyshev (Oriental Studies Institute of the Academy of Sciences) titled "The Modern State and Problems in the Development of Soviet Japan Studies" in particular, is insufficient collaboration in coordinating the themes of scholarly research at various institutes.

The international aspect of the conference also has considerable significance. Over the last 10-15 years, national Japan-studies schools have developed intensively in the socialist countries. It was therefore important for the young national Japan-studies schools to become acquainted with the achievements of Soviet scholars, based in their work on the many years of tradition in Marxist Japan-studies research, and for Soviet Japan scholars to likewise get acquainted with their colleagues from the socialist countries.

A number of papers at the plenary session were devoted to Japan-studies research in the socialist countries: J. Berndt (East Germany)--"The Study of Japan in the GDR," Ts. Krysteva (Bulgaria)--"Problems of Japan Studies in

Bulgaria," Z. Vasilyevova (Czechoslovakia)--"Japan Studies in Czechoslovakia," and Ch. Dalay (Mongolia)--"Mongolian Studies in Japan."

Paper by Soviet Japan scholars were heard at the plenary sessions: I.I. Kovalenko--"The Role of Japan in the Modern World and Soviet Japan Studies," Ya.A. Pevzner (IMEMO [World Economics and International Relations Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences)--"State-Monopoly Capital in Japan," D.V. Petrov (IDV [Far East Institute])--"The Role and Place of Japan in the Modern System of International Relations," A.I. Senatorov--"The Progressive Forces of Japan in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," V.N. Goreglyad (Leningrad Division of the Oriental Studies Institute of the Academy of Sciences)--"Several Trends of Development in Japanese Culture," V.S. Grivnin (ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa])--"Topical Problems of Modern Times in the Works of Japanese Writers" and I.F. Vardul (Oriental Studies Institute)--"The State of Japanese Language Study in the Soviet Union."

The economics section (chaired by Ya.A. Pevzner) heard 16 papers, and 11 people spoke in debates. The questions considered in the section were of a debatable and topical nature. They were the effect of scientific and technical progress in the Japanese economy and its efficiency, as well as problems in the transition to an intensive growth model based on an acceleration of the realization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Reports devoted to these problems included "The Modern State and Prospects of Scientific and Technical Development in Japan" by Yu.D. Denisov (Oriental Studies Institute), "Fundamental Areas of Influence of Scientific and Technical Progress on the Economy of Japan" by A.I. Kravtsevich (Oriental Studies Institute), "Japan: Problems of Economic Efficiency in the 1970s and 1980s" by Ye.L. Leontyeva (IMEMO) and "Basic Research on NIOKR [scientific research and experimental design work] in Japan" by V.K. Zaytsev (IMEMO). The authors of the papers came to the conclusion that the development of scientific and technical progress and the transition of the Japanese economy onto the path of intensive development has brought to life a number of new phenomena whose correct evaluation is possible only with a regard for the aggregate of the phenomena and factors characteristic of the new stage of economic development. Thus, the transition onto an intensive path was accompanied by a worsening of a number of indicators in the Japanese economy. Nonetheless, noted Ye.L. Leontyeva, this does not signify an actual reduction of its efficiency. A.I. Kravtsevich emphasized that the decline in the average annual growth rate of the gross national product observed in Japan since the time of transition to an intensive development model seems fully consistent and is associated in particular with a relative, and often an absolute, reduction in the scale of involvement of all types of resources in economic growth, and does not testify to any specific economic "illness."

Another group of papers was devoted to an analysis of the foreign economic contacts of Japan: "Soviet-Japanese Economic Relations--A Trend Toward Stabilization and Growth" by Yu.S. Stolyarov (IMEMO), "Economic Contradictions in the System of Japanese-American Relations" by N.Yu. Shevchenko (Oriental Studies Institute), "The Economic Relations of Japan with the New Industrialized Countries of Asia: Problems and Trends" by Yu.M. Cherevko (Oriental Studies Institute), "Specific Features of Consumer Demand and



Foreign-Trade Contradictions" by V.B. Ramzes (IMEMO) and others.

Several papers in the section were devoted to individual little-researched areas. I.S. Tselishchev (IMEMO), in the paper "New Phenomena in the Monopolistic Structure of the Japanese Economy. The Correlation of Monopoly and Competition" comes to the conclusion that under the influence of shifts in the monopolistic structure of the economy, the correlation of monopoly and competition is acquiring new features. The current stage of development of the Japanese economy is typified, in his opinion, by an appreciable strengthening of competitive trends, and the significance of competition as a factor of economic growth and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is increasing.

The history and politics section (chaired by D.V. Petrov) heard 16 papers, while 9 people spoke in debates. Three papers concerned problems of the study of Japanese feudalism, four concerned new history and nine were devoted to the problems of modern Japan.

The question of the ideological preconditions for the Meiji revolution attracted considerable attention on the part of the historians. The papers "Socio-Political Thought in Japan on the Eve of the Meiji Isin. Principal Trends of Development" by V.V. Sovasteyev (DVGU [Far Eastern State University]) and "Ideological Preconditions for the Aggressive Policies of Japanese Imperialism" by Ye.V. Verisotskaya (Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East of the DVNTs [Far Eastern Scientific Center] of the USSR Academy of Sciences) were devoted to this topic. The presenters showed that the ideology of Japanese imperialism began to take shape long before the economic preconditions for its realization appeared. This aided the vitality of the feudal remnants in the ideological superstructure of the Japanese bourgeois state that formed afterwards.

Among the papers concerning modern political problems, a considerable portion were devoted to the military policy of Japan and the strengthening of its military and political influence in Asia. This was discussed in the speeches of V.N. Khlynov and Ch. Namchin (Mongolia), V. Argirova (Bulgaria), W. Walraf (East Germany) and A.P. Markov (IDV). The papers considered issues of the modern state of the Japanese-American military and political union along with the prospects for its development and the regional policies of Japan, in particular in Southeast Asia, while the concept of the "Pacific Ocean Community" was evaluated.

The historians of the socialist countries came to the conclusion that it is essential to develop a general concept of the historical development of Japan within the framework of the worldwide historical process. Z. Vasilyevova (Czechoslovakia) reported on an interesting plan for comparative historical research that will assisted in the fulfillment of this task--a comprehensive work comparing the land-use systems of Byzantium and the Far East.

The ideology, sociology and culture section (chaired by V.N. Goreglyad) heard 14 papers and 6 speeches. An important place in its work was devoted to the study of ideological activity aimed at preserving the foundations of the capitalist order in modern Japan. The paper "Several Aspects of the

Ideological Activity of the Modern Japanese Bourgeois State" by B.V. Poseplov (IDV) traced the evolution of the ideological doctrines of Japanese monopoly capital from the end of the Second World War, and analyzed the recently advanced concept of so-called "softoconomy" (A Japanese variant of the "post-industrial society"), called upon to project the functional path of the capitalist economy under conditions of scientific and technical revolution against a background of serious changes in the social structure and value orientations of the population. The paper noted that currently the Japanese ruling circles have basically refrained from any attempts to galvanize the primitive feudal ideological doctrines and have begin to make broad use of bourgeois sociological theory for the purpose of affirming the nationalistic concept of the supremacy of the Japanese type of capitalist enterprise. N. Chalykova (Bulgaria) illuminated in particular the question of the modernization of Japanese nationalism under the influence of scientific and technical revolution.

The speech of A.M. Grigoryev (INION [Scientific Information Institute for the Social Sciences] of the USSR Academy of Sciences) "Work of the Scientific Information Institute for the Social Sciences in the Realm of Collecting, Studying and Preparing Materials on the Problems of Japan," as well as the speech of S.I. Verbitskiy (the "Japan" yearbook), was heard at the concluding session of the conference.

The conference results were summarized by I.A. Latyshev. He noted that the conference has great significance for establishing contact with the Japan scholars of the socialist countries and improving contacts among the various Japan-studies centers of our country.

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MONOGRAPH BASED ON QUESTIONNAIRES OF AFRICAN YOUTH REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 173-177

[Review by I.Ye. Khomenko of book "Afrikanская molodezh. Peremeny v obshchestvennom soznanii" [African Youth. Changes in Social Consciousness] by E.A. Shauro, Moscow, Chief Eastern Literature Editorial Board of Nauka Publishing House, 1985, 127 pp]

[Text] Over at least a quarter century--since the so-called wave of youth protests--interest in the topic of youth has been strong. Although the problem of the younger generation has moved thinkers of past centuries as well, it was namely from the beginning of the 1960s that youth have become an object of special attention for scholars of various areas and schools of thought. There is currently a quite impressive stock of researchers devoted to youth. Scholars of our country have also made definite contributions to it. Among the well-known names are E.Ya. Batalov, V.N. Boryaz, A.R. Brychkov, I.S. Kon, V.P. Mashnyagi. K.G. Myalo, M.I. Novinskaya, G.Ye. Skorov, P.N. Reshetov and several other authors who have published works on issues of civil upbringing, education, the training of qualified specialists and the protest movements of the young in the developed capitalist countries.

It must be acknowledged, however, that in matters concerning the youth of the developing countries, priority up until now has belonged to the representatives of Western science. Based on various versions of such well-known concepts as, for example, the concept of the "marginal individual," bourgeois researchers are trying to uncover the sources of the growing socio-political activeness of the younger generation in Asian and African countries.

Special works on the problems of African youth only began to appear in Soviet literature in the 1980s. (Footnote 1) (See: Yu.A. Goryachev, A.S. Krasilnikov. "Molodezhnoye dvizheniye v stranakh sotsoriyentatsii" [The Youth Movement in Socialist-Oriented Countries]. Baku, 1982; "Studenchestvo Afriki" [The Student Body of Africa]. Moscow, 1983; A.L. Arefyev. "Molodezh osvobodivshikhsya stran" [The Youth of Liberated Countries]. Moscow, 1985; "Sredniye gorodskiye sloi v Tropicheskoy Afrike" [Middle-Class Urban Segments in Tropical Africa]. Moscow, 1985; et al.) This book expands on that theme, being in fact the first step in the development of Soviet Oriental studies associated with the formation of the social consciousness of the youth on the African continent.

Shauro saw as her principal research task "to fill somewhat the shortage felt in Soviet African studies of empirical and analytical material on the study of... today's level of consciousness of African youth, the formation of their interests and needs and their view of current socio-political and economic processes, as well as to study the orientations of youth toward basic social goals" (p 9). I would add that Shauro is a pioneer among Soviet scholars in the realm of field research among foreign youth. Her work was written as the result not so much of the office study of sources and literature that has become habitual for us as much as it was an analysis of questionnaires from several groups of young Africans executed personally by the author and her colleagues. This is undoubtedly the special value of this book.

The basis of the author's comparative analysis is materials selected from four countries: Nigeria (357 students, average age of 16.6), Ethiopia (71 students and 26 workers, average age 22.7), the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (231 students and 7 workers, average age 20.7) and Angola (115 students, average age 20.1). In all four cases, emigres from different regions, primarily from peasant families, were polled, although city residents were also quite broadly represented as well (with the exception of the Angola selection). The respondents from Nigeria and Ethiopia were more urbanized than the young people from Angola and Guinea-Bissau, which reflects the social reality of these countries today (p 38). Although the selections, as we see, are not identical, they create a definite foundation for juxtaposition and comparative analysis. The author stresses that from a methodological viewpoint, a regard for age, national and ethnic affiliations and social origins, as well as place of birth and degree of urbanization, is important. These independent variables were invariably taken into account by the author in researching the value orientations and concepts of African youth.

I would especially like to note that the processing of the information that was obtained is distinguished by professionalism and a fine mastery of the methodology of concrete sociological research.

One must agree with the author that "the youth, as society overall, are socially heterogeneous" and that Marxist scholars are researching "not youth in general, but youth as a part of classes and social segments" (p 6). I will permit myself, however, to reproach E.A. Shauro for the fact that the social-class analysis of the selections, in my opinion, is not differentiated enough, that too little attention was paid to the specific nature of ethnic and tribal relations and their influence on the consciousness of youth, which is not completely clearly delimited by their professional and social groups. The title itself, "African Youth. Changes in Social Consciousness," assumes an all-encompassing approach to the object of research. Moreover, rural youth actually remained beyond the scope of research. It is, after all, noted in the work that the urbanites "are an essentially small part of the youth" in the majority of the African countries (Angola--21 percent, Nigeria--20.4, Ethiopia--10.8 etc.; see p 12). True, the author recalls discussions with peasants when visiting rural regions, but this information is unfortunately not reflected in any substantive way in her conclusions. It is also unfortunate that young people employed in the sphere of trade and services, administrative employment, the army and other representatives of the middle-class urban segments remained beyond the scope of the work as well.

The author's field of view fell chiefly on urban student youth. In the four selections of 807 people polled, young working people made up just 4 percent (7 Guineans at the diesel electric power plant in Farim and 26 young Ethiopians), not taking into account those included in one of the sections of the third chapter of questionnaires of two groups of unemployed in the labor exchanges in Lagos and Ibadan. All the rest are students in the upper grades of schools, lycees, colleges and universities, as well as the Center for Professional Training with an automechanical bent (Angola).

Naturally, many of these omissions were caused by the objective difficulties that the author encountered in collecting information. This is also explained by the fact that the questionnaire was executed primarily in a student environment, random selections and by the pilot method. Be that as it may, however, the great cognitive value of Shauro's work is beyond doubt.

Based on the empirical material collected in the book, two types of consciousness among African youth were considered: the conceptions of the individual, first, about his environment and, second, his place in this world and realization of self in it. Among the most interesting chapters are, it seems, chapters 3 through 5, in which the orientations and institutions of youth toward the urban way of life, their life plans, concepts of the role of work and, finally, political views are analyzed. The author is able to lift the veil that hides that which is new that largely defines the younger generation at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, comprising a significant share of the structure of the African population: according to the data of UNESCO, there are some 105 million people in the 15-24 age group in Africa, and its proportion of the makeup of the self-employed population of several countries of the continent fluctuates between 40 and 60 percent.

Notwithstanding the numerical predomination of rural youth, typical of modern African society is a rapid growth of the young urban population. The youth are one of the most powerful sources of rural-to-urban migration. It seems that it was namely this that determined the fact that of the points of departure in analyzing the values of the respondents was the discovery of their attitude toward an urban way of life.

The social and psychological adaptation of rural youth to the conditions of the city, the author feels, occurs gradually and begins even before the arrival of the emigrant in the city. The system of institutions of socialization, such as the family, school, the peer group, the mass media and--in African reality--the commune play the supreme role in this process. One cannot agree with some of the evaluations of the role of school teachings and the mass media in the book, however. Apparently, the author somewhat underestimates the significance of the latter factor, which is actively invading African society. Moreover, the expansion of world economic and technological contacts, as well as the dissemination of Western standards of consumption as a result of cultural influence on the part of the developed capitalist states, could be tracked well in the material on Nigeria. Shauro's idea that as opposed to labor activity, in which youth are included in traditional society, the learning process has a somewhat passive nature and in that manner reduces its power of adaptive influence (p 44), is debatable.

But, in asserting this, the author ultimately comes to the conclusion that school in modern African society is one of the principal factors of adaptation to the modern way of life. This can be visibly traced in analyzing the answers of the Ethiopian respondents to the question of what attracts them to urban living. Here Shauro notes the great activeness of the students (recall that no less than a third of the Ethiopian selection are natives of villages and are studying in the city), whom the city attracts not only with its modern way of life, but with the broad opportunities for obtaining an education (pp 50-51).

The author was able to uncover the inevitably contradiction in the attitude of African youth toward urban life. On one hand, the formation of a general orientation toward the city was observed, facilitated by the mythologization of the urban way of life and objective socio-economic preconditions. On the other hand, this does not lead to the complete displacement or even rejection of traditional values. Furthermore, in some spheres of social life, for example in family-clan relations, they acquire considerable stability.

Attempting to answer the question of what position is occupied by the attitude toward work in the hierarchy of values of African youth, the author successfully makes use of the approach toward the evolution of transitional developing society, widespread in modern Oriental studies, as a synthesis of the traditional and the modern. The life plans and orientations of the respondents are considered from this angle.

The introduction to Chapter 6, small but very substantive, is an undoubted success of the author. It is devoted to the evolution of the prestige of the professions and attitudes toward work in the historical development of African society. "The colonial nature of African social development," notes Shauro, "determined to a certain extent the pathological form of the transformation of the attitude toward work and specific types of labor and had an effect on the formation of a disrespectful attitude toward labor, not only physical and unskilled labor, but productive labor in general, concurrently with an unhealthy growth in the social prestige of office professions" (p 65). In concrete examples, we are later convinced that colonialism has actually left a quite noticeable imprint in the social consciousness of Africans, including many young people, for whom the active process of political socialization began as early as after the winning of independence. Insofar as their consciousness is formed in a complex interweaving of the traditional and the modern, it cannot help but be a mosaic. This has a noticeable effect on the process of developing value orientations. Both mythological-traditional and rational (urbanized) types of consciousness can be discerned herein without particular difficulty. The role of the latter is especially manifested in the growth in popularity of engineering and technical professions and scientific work among the youth, and in individual preferences--even for such spheres of activity as astronautics. According to the results of all of the selections, the author also comes to the conclusion that the medical professions are persistently highly preferred, while agricultural work is not, aside from a positive attitude toward skilled specialties in the realm of agriculture.

Those concerned with the problems of labor and employment will find many other interesting observations and details concerning the professional preferences

of African youth in this book. The literally quoted text of individual questionnaires completed by the respondents as illustrations impart great trustworthiness to it. These documents can also serve as a useful source for the content-analysis of other authors.

Following the selected methodology, Shauro has succeeded in uncovering several specific features of these countries, differing in their political and socio-economic development. Thus, the answers of the respondents showed that in the socialist-oriented states there exist greater preconditions for the formation of new value concepts that are consonant with a feeling of civil duty and responsibility for the progressive shifts that are occurring. At the same time, only in Nigeria of the four countries, where capitalism is developing at a rapid rate, increased inclination toward business and trade occupations that are traditionally considered prestigious is observed among the youth (p 75).

The author's attempt to discover the attitude of representatives of African youth not only toward this or that type of activity or specific profession, but also toward labor in general, is exceedingly topical and theoretically justified. This problem has in recent years been advanced to the forefront with regard to the appearance of new trends among the younger generation in the approach to labor activity. In particular, as noted at the International Scientific Symposium (Moscow, December 1983), "with a worsening of the overall crisis of capitalism in the non-socialist part of the world and the growth in mass unemployment, the level of which is especially high among the young, a shift in the hierarchy of the generally accepted system of values is being observed, and for some categories of youth labor is losing its paramount value." (Footnote 2) (See: M.E. Kramarov. Youth and Labor.--RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYI MIR. 1984, No 5, p 178.) This is also confirmed by the data of a broad-scale survey conducted in 41 countries (including 10 African ones). To the question of what the respondents expect from their work and whether it brings them satisfaction or pleasure, only two thirds of those polled agreed to give an answer. Of those, 80 percent expressed the hope that work would bring them satisfaction, while 10 percent acknowledged that they were interested in good earnings, wherein only 9 percent declared that they thought they were helping society with their work. At the same time, 21 percent of the young people declared that they considered work to be an essential condition of the development of the personality, while about a third of those polled expressed confidence that work could bring a mass of unpleasantness, if one did not like it or if it did not leave time for relaxation. (Footnote 3) (See: UNESCO Courier. 1985, July, pp 14-15.) One can find the specific statements of young people on these issues in Shauro's book, along with an analysis of the world views of the Angolan and Guinean respondents.

The author's conclusions that an understanding of the need to fulfill social duty and labor in favor of one's country does not enter the consciousness of the younger generation of Africans at once or easily are convincing. This process is still hindered, on the one hand, by the view, typical of traditional society, of labor just as a natural condition for the simple reproduction of the life of the person and the commune and, on the other hand, the associative perception, extant from the colonial period, of labor as a compulsory obligation, as well as other the other negative instances discussed above.

It should be welcomed that E.A. Shauro was not limited to the explanation of the attitude of the respondents to colonialism and socialism in general that is traditional in our literature, which, perhaps, would not introduce substantive changes in our conceptions of the ideological and political positions of young Africans. A rare opportunity to elaborate on important nuances and tracing when and under what circumstances (from whom) the respondents first found out about the colonial oppression of their country, the armed struggle of the people for independence, about socialism etc. was made use of in the boldly composed questionnaire. One can only regret that due to the difficulty of obtaining equivalent information about the ideological and political views of Nigerian youth, the analysis was conducted using the material of socially homogeneous states (Angola and Guinea-Bissau). The data that were obtained made it possible to determine the principal channels and sources of political information and discover the specific nature of the formation of mass political consciousness of the youth of the group of socialist-oriented countries. Thus, the empirical data confirmed the prevalence of the traditional (oral) means of transmitting information. An analysis of the substance of the political institutions that were uncovered allowed the author to describe the process of political socialization of these groups of African youth as "the beginning of a transition from an emotional perception of revolution to a conscious one" (p 108).

In conclusion, one observation of a general nature. It seems the useful and substantive work would have undoubtedly gained if Chapter 1 had given survey material on the historical development, political situation and socio-demographic features of the youth of the four states on the materials of which the author conducted the research. It would also not have been superfluous to give there in compressed form some basic information on the youth movement in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia and Nigeria. In this case, the work would have acquired greater balance and completeness. It should not be forgotten that such a monograph, in the face of its quite narrowly specialized nature, is nonetheless intended for a broad range of specialists, not all of whom are sufficiently well oriented toward African reality, and material of a general nature would help them to perceive better and more fully the valuable information that the author places into scholarly circulation. Moreover, the diverse information (the quantity, questions of education and training of personnel, state policy on issues of the youth and the youth movement, the activity of student organizations and unions and much more) on the continent overall, by the way, presented in a quite fragmentary nature and logically poorly coordinated among itself and with the content of the other chapters, seems somewhat alien and does not permit the reader to assimilate that which is original and new that is contained in this book in purposeful and complete fashion.

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## ANALYTICAL STUDY OF BOURGEOIS RESEARCH ON INDONESIA REVIEWED

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[Review by N.I. Kalashnikov of book "Burzhuaznyye kontseptsii sotsialno-politicheskogo razvitiye Indonezii" [Bourgeois Conceptions of the Socio-Political Development of Indonesia] by Ye.A. Cherepneva, Moscow, Chief Eastern Literature Editorial Board of Nauka Publishing House, 1984, 195 pp]

[Text] Since the middle of the 1950s, the center of the study of the problems of modern Indonesia in the West has shifted from Holland to the United States, which was not least associated with the activation of the neo-colonial strategy of American imperialism. The leading Western Indonesia scholars, such as the Americans J. Kane, G. Benda, B. Anderson, K. Jackson, R. McVey and D. Emerson and the Australian scholars G. Fit and D. Lev, i.e. the majority of the representatives of the liberal-bourgeois thrust of Western Indonesian studies, were working at American universities, and first and foremost at Cornell, as well as Yale, Berkeley and Columbia. To them could also be added the names of such major scholars as W.F. Wirtheim and K. Hertz.

Notwithstanding the fact that the works of this groups of Western Indonesian scholars are quite well known to Soviet scholars, the general theoretical constructs and conclusions of the most serious bourgeois authors occupied with modern Indonesia were until recently reflected in Soviet historiography in a quite fragmentary fashion. The appearance of this book fills this gap to a substantial extent and, moreover, actually signifies the appearance of all-round monographic research of non-Marxist historiography within the framework of the study of this region of Southeast Asia. Cherepneva reviews the works of the leading Western Indonesian scholars that have been published over the last three decades. She uncovers the common traits in the views of those scholars whom she places among the objectivists, tracks the principal directions of their scholarly inquiry and demonstrates the role of the major figures and the formation of their groups of followers.

Revealing the concept of "liberal-bourgeois objectivism" that is key for this book, the author proceeds from the Leninist confrontation of objectivist and materialistic approaches to social phenomena. (Footnote 1) (See: V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, vol 1, pp 418-419.) Cherepneva considers objectivism a specific scientific principle that assumes that spontaneous social development in Indonesia proceeds along the path of capitalism. Following

this principle in turn requires the bourgeois scholars to create a picture of Indonesian society that is coincident with the point of view of the class interests they express (pp 4-6).

The author proposes an inherently periodic nature of postwar Indonesian studies in the West and establishes its link with the evolution of the policies of the imperialist states with regard to Indonesia and the changes in the political situation within the country itself, which had an effect on the change in the points of view and realms of interest of the bourgeois researchers (pp 15-20, 169-170).

In the first stage of Western political research, the Indonesian state was considered internally monolithic, and moreover substantial significance was not assigned to the bureaucracy--a most important object of study in subsequent stages. Principal attention was concentrated on those institutions, such a parliament and the parties, that were felt to be analogous overall to the parliaments and parties of Western countries.

In the next stage, encompassing the decade from the middle of the 1950s to 1966, interest in regionalism and centrifugal tendencies in Indonesian statehood increased sharply as a result of the crisis of the parliamentary regime. More and more attention began to be devoted to the particular political role of the army, the bureaucracy, the traditional concept of power and state ideology. Research on political parties based on inquiry into the "traditional roots" of their activity was expanded, and their distinctiveness compared to the analogous Western institutions began to be acknowledged more and more willingly. The growing influence of the communist party in the socio-political life of the country had as consequence the appearance of works especially dedicated to the Communist Party of Indonesia (CPI).

In the third stage, interest in the problems of Indonesian national state unity and regionalism is declining, but the number of works on the problems of the bureaucracy is increasing sharply, and Indonesia has begun to be considered a "bureaucratic state." The traditional conception of power, the effect of which on society was earlier regarded as negative, is now considered a positive element for consolidating the regime's "new order" established in the second half of the 1960s. New forms of state ideology are being analyzed, as is the army's role as a socio-political force, true, gradually turning into a matter of managing the bureaucracy. Much is being written about the decline of the party system in view of the initially "elitist" nature of political parties in Indonesia. Intense interest in the communist party and the reasons for the growth in its might, along with the reasons for the defeat and the prospects for the resurrection of the CPI, is being preserved as before.

Thus, the periodic nature proposed by the author is constructed on an analysis of the treatments of fundamental issues of socio-political development of Indonesia in the two large chapters into which the book is divided. The first chapter considers problems of the state structure of the country (its form, the role of the bureaucracy, the "traditional conception" of power) as they were posed by the objectivist researchers in each of the three stages of research on Indonesia noted above. The second chapter is devoted to a criticism of their views on issues of political leadership and state ideology.

Summarizing the results of studying the socio-political development of Indonesia by the representatives of objectivism, the author notes the pragmatic narrowness of their approach to Indonesian reality and its anti-historical nature. The class nature of this approach has an effect first and foremost on the preferential and well-disposed attention toward aspects of the capitalist development of Indonesia, the interests of the highest segments of society--the "elite" and the bourgeois elements--and adaptation to the communist party and leftist trends of the period of "controlled democracy." It is namely for this reason that basic problems of social structure and an analysis of its influence on political processes occupied an exceedingly modest place in Western Indonesian studies, for which dissemination of the theory of a "stagnant society," freeing the researchers from the need to uncover the inner causes of socio-political changes, served as justification.

Comparing the subject matter of the research of Western Indonesian scholars and Soviet scholars, Cherepneva not only shows the weak aspects of the works of the former, conditioned by their methodological and world-view principles, but also notes that on such issues as the form of the state structure and the political structure of Indonesia, the genesis and social role of the bureaucracy and especially the effect of socio-cultural traditions, particularly the traditional conception of power, on political processes etc., i.e. on all of those problems to which the Western objectivist authors assign priority, they "have in practice... generated at least one detailed piece of research that has definite significance for our studies" (p 167). In general, the merit of the Cherepneva's work, in my opinion, is the strictly balanced and differentiated evaluation of the works of non-Marxist researchers and the particular attention toward the serious works of our ideological adversaries. Thus, for example, comparing the degree of adequacy of their depictions of substantive aspects of various stages of the socio-political evolution of independent Indonesia, Cherepneva comes to the correct conclusion that the works appearing during the existence of the "controlled democracy" regime--the second stage of development of Western political research on Indonesia--have the greatest scholarly value. The greatest degree of criticism combined with great informativeness was characteristic of them in this period (p 167).

Overall, this book is an undoubted advance in the realm of criticizing the ideas of non-Marxist political science and sociology on the development paths of liberated states. Naturally, this does not mean that there are no individual omissions or errors in it. I would prefer, for instance, that the author had shown the influence of the common foundations of bourgeois social science, and primarily sociologist M. Weber and his followers, on Indonesian objectivist scholars more directly. It is also desirable to dwell in more detail on other trends in Indonesian studies, in particular on the basic positions of rightist-conservative historiography, to reveal better the specific nature of the "objectivist" thrust, the more so as the direct link with imperialist political foreign strategy is more clearly manifested in it.

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BOOK ON IDEOLOGICAL HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE CP

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[Review by M.A. Persits of book "Iz istorii ideynoy borby v kitayskom revolyutsionnom dvizhenii 20-40-x godov" [From the History of the Ideological Struggle in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement of the 1920s-1940s] by A.V. Pantsov, Moscow, Chief Eastern Literature Editorial Board of Nauka Publishing House, 1985, 116 pp]

[Text] Before us is reasoned research that makes it possible to answer to a great extent the question of what factors were at the basis of the abrupt changes in the political course of Chinese party leaders both within the country and in the international arena that have been observed more than once over the last two and a half decades. The answer to this question cannot be simple and unambiguous, and it cannot be obtained as a result of analyzing only the modern political life of China, including herein the specific personality factors of leading figures of the CCP. It requires in-depth study of the social sources of the formation of the Communist Party of China and research into the abrupt shifts in the social-class base of the party in the first years and decades of its existence.

The materials and conclusions contained in the book under review have, it seems, paramount significance for an understanding of the roots and essence of the political events in modern China, and at the same time for an elaboration of the complex problems of the formation and establishment of the communist party in the multi-institutional environment not only of pre-revolutionary China, but of the oppressed Orient in general.

It is well known that the communist party in China, as in other countries of the Orient, in no way arose on the basis of a proletarian movement or in a proletarian environment. The forefathers of the communist movement in China--and in this regard China was also not an exception in the Orient--were the revolutionary democrats or the national revolutionaries, who saw in Marxism a means of saving the country from colonialism and feudal-bureaucratic tyranny. Thus, the communist movement in China, as well as in the Orient overall, arises before the transformation of the proletariat into a class for itself and precedes the affirmation of the class independence of its struggle.

Becoming communists, yesterday's revolutionary democrats did not fully grasp Marxist-Leninist teaching and usually, over a prolonged period, retained remnants of their former views and inclinations. This was especially reflected in the widespread dissemination of leftist sectarian views among the first communists of China and the Orient on the nature of the impending revolution and its place in the world revolutionary process, the role of the national bourgeoisie in that revolution, the significance of the military factor in implementing a turnaround etc.

Independent in the beginning from the proletariat and its interests and still not having mastered the theories of Marxism, the first communists of China were therefore not protected from the diverse petty-bourgeois lumpen, poor and paupers and even kulak [rich peasants] and other influences of the environment in which they were forced to operate. The geographical and territorial boundaries and the social conditions of the activity of the Chinese communist party often changed. In this regard, its base among the masses also repeatedly underwent change. This latter always remained, however, as the author notes, unusually broad due to the multi-layered social structure of pre-revolutionary China and the abundance of elements in it for the disintegration of archaic segments and the slowness of the process of the formation of modern classes.

The book demonstrates convincingly that the proletariat, coming into the party several years after its formation, in a very short period of time came to comprise the majority of its base among the masses. The author writes that "aside from the workers, the CCP was based on various segments of the peasantry and a multitude of transitional formations closely affiliated with these population groups. A known portion of its social base was comprised of progressively inclined representatives of the exploiting classes..." (p 18). Among the national forces from which the mass base of the communist party took shape, A.V. Pantsov delineates five principal social segments: the lumpen-proletariat, the poor and paupers, the patriarchal peasants, the petty-bourgeois-kulak and, finally, the proletariat. Naturally, the interests, feelings and moods of these diverse social bodies had an enormous effect on the party, on its qualitative composition, the world views of its leadership, the ideological look of the rank-and-file members and on its practical policies on the most varied of issues, but especially on the issue of relations to the major landowners and the ownership of the land. Moreover, in every specific period of history there predominated the influence of this or that segment depending on the nature of the social environment in which the party was then operating and the political situation that was extant in the country. The great merit of the author is that he was able to show specific political measures of the party, as well as the world views and frames of mind that arose in its ranks as a direct result of the influence of these social segments on the CP.

In the course of the Chinese revolution of 1925-1927, the arena for which was chiefly the industrial and trade centers of the country, the social composition of the party became more proletarian. Whereas by the middle of 1921, by its 1st Congress, the CCP had been unable to attract a single worker into its ranks, by April of 1927 the proletariat already comprised 50.8 percent of its composition (pp 33, 35). Abrupt changes in the other direction

occurred as a result of objective causes--the defeat of the revolution, the outburst of Guomindang terror and the transfer of the revolutionary struggle into the village in connection with this. As early as the summer of 1928, workers comprised no more than 10 percent of party members, while representatives of the peasantry and the segments close to it were almost 80 percent, and moreover in individual regions this ratio was even greater--5 and 95 percent (pp 42-43). The party became more peasant, and primarily through rural paupers and lumpen as well as emigres from the wealthy part of the village. Under the extant circumstances, the "theory" that had been advanced earlier by Mao Tse-Tung that the peasant poor were the most revolutionary force became widespread in the CCP. This category included those residents of the village that as a result of ruin came to be tossed out of agricultural production and were on the path to poverty, robbery and thievery. For the sake of justice, it should be recalled that much earlier, as early as 1920-1921, some of the first Chinese communists also put their trust in the strike power of socialist revolution (An Longhe), and the then party leader Chen Duxiu proposed a shifting of the center of gravity of its work "into the wild corners of China, since there it is easier to create one's own army, as the Europeans do not interfere there." (Footnote 1) (See: M.A. Persits. The Formation of the Communist Movement in Asia and the Revolutionary Democracy of the Orient.--"Revolutsionnaya demokratiya i kommunisty Vostoka" [Revolutionary Democracy and the Communists of the Orient]. Moscow, 1984, pp 190-191, 217.) Apparently, it did not seem significant to him that the "wild corners," where there were no imperialists, had no proletariat either.

Thus, in all cases, as the author demonstrates convincingly, the proletarian influence in the party was extremely limited, insofar as the process of ripening class feelings among the Chinese proletariat was inevitably forged by the development of common anti-imperialist aspirations of the nation being born, as well the overall socio-economic backwardness of the country (p 24). At the same time, A.V. Pantsov emphasizes that notwithstanding the heterogeneity of the social segments feeding the party, the interests and moods of these segments had poorly defined and amorphous boundaries that sometimes allowed them to converge and combine. All of these support an important conclusion: over the course of the 1920s to the first half of the 1940s, differing political conceptions and aspirations were constantly encountered in the CCP, various political trends took shape and struggles with each other arose, but at the same time the socio-psychological conditions for achieving frequent compromises among them existed (p 25).

The struggle of various ideological trends and views within the CCP, in the face of the ever strengthening influence of the non-proletarian segments, led to the confirmation of nationalist leadership in it that in the climate of war against Japanese aggression in 1937-1945 adopted a policy of transforming the party into a sort of super-class organization of a unified-front type. In that manner, the CCP continued to squander its former proletarian base. "An enormous number of people," writes A.V. Pantsov, "who had entered the communist party at various times, and especially in 1927-1945, were socially alien to the working class. They advanced leaders from their own environment that expressed their own aspirations, and created a mass base for non-Marxist trends" (p 44).

Based on extensive and extremely interesting factual material, the author carefully analyzes the complex process of the organizational construction of the CCP. For this purpose, he studies the dynamics of the numerical and social composition of the CP, researches the specific features of the ideological educational work in the ranks of the party and uncovers and describes the specific nature of party construction. The book shows convincingly how the Comintern, the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] and the Soviet state assisted the Chinese communist party in preparing and training its leading political and military personnel; it illuminates in detail the role of the Comintern in reinforcing the positions of the proletarian wing of the party. The author comes to the well-founded conclusion that "individual successes of the CCP in organizing the ideological educational work among the communists, and especially the all-round assistance of the Comintern and the VKP(b) in training Chinese Marxists, stimulated to an enormous extent the formation of the Marxist-Leninist trend in the CCP" (p 56). Furthermore, the author proposes, and it is possible to agree with him, that due to the weakness of the proletarian base in the party "a decisive factor in the comparatively rapid development of Marxism on Chinese soil was the international theoretical and practical assistance to the Chinese revolution on the part of the Comintern and the Soviet state" (p 69).

The book delineates the objective and subjective reasons for the fact that the proletarian-internationalist part of the CCP was not able to seize the upper hand over the nationalist trends in the party. A.V. Pantsov has painted an impressive portrait of the sharp worsening of the social composition of the CCP as a result of both objective factors and the voluntarist actions and decisions of its leadership and the artificially formed growth of party ranks through various measures for pressuring the citizens of the Soviet and liberated regions. As a consequence, the pre-capitalist environment in which the CCP operated had an influence on the party on an incomparably greater scale than was tolerable.

Having filled party ranks with an enormous number of illiterate and ignorant lumpen-pauper elements, the leaders of the CCP put themselves above the party and actually rejected the principle of democratic centralism and converted to military methods of managing the party organism. At the same time, a process of fusion of the party and army apparatus occurred, "and under the conditions of an armed struggle of many years, the communist party acquired features of a militarized organization" (p 61). The party became the patrimony of the ganbu (the personnel and management workers), and "normal relations were not always established" between them and the masses (ibid.).

The Soviet reader who reads this book will understand and see how "a strict centralization... was strikingly combined" with a persistent "intraparty grouping" in the CCP, the foundation of which was the clan and fellow-countryman communes of pre-capitalist China. In other words, in the period under consideration the party "acquired a number of the features of a traditional organization of an Oriental type--peasant-pauper in composition, based on group and countryman ties, constructed on principles of unlimited authority for the central leadership" (p 63).

At the same time, an objective analysis of the history of the CCP in the 1920s-1940s leads the author to the conclusion that the proletarian communist wing of the CCP made considerable efforts to correct the situation (p 62).

The analysis done in the book of the specific features of the propagation and perception of Marxism in China is exceedingly interesting. It follows from this analysis that for the Chinese revolutionary intelligentsia, the assimilation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism was a quite difficult matter. The pre-capitalist social environment of China furthered the "powerful pressure on the ideological life of Chinese society" of many traditional teachings and faiths: Confucianism, Legism, Buddhism and Taoism. The author also notes the extremely active propagation of Western bourgeois teachings by the scholars of various types of non-scientific socialism along with non-Marxist ideas and notions, as well as skewed interpretations of Marxism, in China. Trotskyism and the anarchism that was in widespread circulation in the country also had a negative influence on the revolutionary intelligentsia of China.

A.V. Pantsov also undertook a laborious analysis of the translations of the fundamental documents of the Comintern into Chinese, and especially those that were written by V.I. Lenin. These documents had especially great significance for the ideological grounding of the just-formed communist party and for the first communists of China. Before him, no historian had done this work. A.V. Pantsov discovered that the translations into Chinese of such documents of the 2nd Comintern Congress as Lenin's "Theses on National and Colonial Issues," as well as the "Additional Theses" of M.N. Roy, revised by V.I. Lenin, were not authentic and transformed the originals in a leftist-sectarian spirit. In this manner, these translations facilitated the appearance of ideological vacillations in the CCP, and a strengthening of leftist views among party leadership figures in particular. In these translations, the author writes, "alongside the most valuable Leninist tenets are nonetheless preserved, and in some cases strengthened, elements of the leftist-sectarian views of Roy. The latter are especially clearly manifested in the Chinese texts of the 'Additional Theses' which, apparently, were more widely disseminated among the communists of China than the theses of V.I. Lenin" (p 85). This was substantially facilitated by the special speeches of I.V. Stalin, who recommended that the Chinese communists not be guided by the theses of V.I. Lenin, but rather just by the theses of M.N. Roy. (Footnote 2) (The author writes about this in another of his works: A.V. Pantsov. "From the History of the Training of Marxist Cadres of the Chinese Revolution in the USSR.--" *Revolutsionnaya...*, p 319.) "Thus...", concludes the author, "a whole set of non-Marxist ideas and notions had an influence on the Communist Party of China. Practically all the members of the CCP themselves felt to a greater or lesser extent the influence of social views alien to Marxism," which, in the face of the weakness of the ideological and educational work in the party, considerably lessened "the ability of many Chinese adherents of communists to oppose the immediate ideological influence of the social environment" (pp 78-79).

Overall, this book is mature historical and sociological research. Even that part of it based on results obtained by other historians are not a simple repetition of the opinions and evaluations of others. Even in this part of



the book A.V. Pantsov, analyzing the positions of his predecessors, comes to his own fundamental conclusions and frame of mind.

This book is based on a careful study of materials, documents and literature in Chinese, English and Russian. The author has researched almost all of the principal documents of the CCP over the quarter century of its existence: the shorthand transcript of the 6th Congress, the resolutions of other CCP congresses and the decrees and decisions of its central organs, as well as reports and speeches of party leadership figures. Furthermore, they are a multitude of memoirs of various individuals working in the Chinese communist movement or in close contact with it and its figures; they are a broad circle of periodical publications of the CCP and Guomindang and central Soviet newspapers and journals for the corresponding years, as well as special publications of Chinese students studying in the Soviet Union, which have not been researched before. The works of V.I. Lenin, documents of the Comintern and the corresponding resolutions of the VKP(b) occupy a most important place among the sources utilized by the author. In short, the sources are of high quality, diverse and reliable, while the research based on them is well-reasoned and therefore significant.

Nonetheless, one cannot agree with the author when he, although without much confidence, tries to convince the reader that two resolutions adopted by the 2nd Comintern Congress on the national-colonial issue are two parts of a single summary document (see p 72 and note 13 on pp 94-95). It seems that these are two different resolutions, although on the same issue, and there exist serious discrepancies between them that could not exist in a single document. The initial draft of the theses on the national and colonial issues were written by V.I. Lenin (by the way, not in German, as the author asserts, but in Russian) and was adopted by the 2nd Comintern Congress with small changes not of a fundamental nature. The additional theses were written by M.N. Roy from openly leftist positions. The congress adopted them only after fundamental corrections made by V.I. Lenin. In the additional theses, V.I. Lenin nonetheless left some of the positions of Roy. The additional theses thus became a compromise document, since V.I. Lenin proposed that the correct tactics of communists "require concessions to those elements, when and inasmuch, which, when and insofar as they appeal to the proletariat..." (Footnote 3) (V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works. Vol 41, p 59.) The first communists of the Orient, as a rule holding leftist-sectarian positions at that time, has still not fully assimilated Marxism. They were just coming to it, and in the initial stages known concessions to it were essential so as to ease their further transition into the bosom of the communist movement. It is also important to note that in the summer of 1921, when V.I. Lenin was required to indicate the position of the Comintern on the problems of the Orient to the Indian revolutionary Bhupendra Nat Dattu, he referred him not to the theses of Roy or to the resolutions of the 2nd Congress at all, but only to his own "Initial Draft," which after insignificant changes became the first and principal resolution that had been adopted at that time by the international forum of communists on national and colonial issues. (Footnote 4) (See: V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works. Vol 53, p 142.) The author, in another of his works already cited above, himself cites proof of the fact that the 2nd Congress adopted two resolutions on the national-colonial issue and that there was a noticeable difference between them. (Footnote 5) (A.V.

Pantsov. Op. cit., p 319.)

It is also a shame that the title of this book does not accurately reflect its actual content. In the book, in spite of its title, the discussion concerns the social preconditions and the social foundations of the ideological struggle in the CCP, and not this struggle itself.

The work of A.V. Pantsov, executed on a high scholarly level, can also be used to enrich the lecture courses on the history of China and the Orient in general that are given in the universities and other higher educational institutions of the country; it is also useful for specialists studying the history and modern state of the communist movement in the Orient.

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## BOOK ON EGYPT'S ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 86 pp 184-188

[Review by V.G. Seyranyan of book "Yegipet: uroki istorii. Borba protiv kolonialnogo gospodstva i contrrevolyutsii (1879-1981)" [Egypt: Lessons of History. Struggle Against Colonial Rule and Counterrevolution (1879-1981)] by V.S. Koshelev, Minsk, Universitetskoye Publishing House, 1984, 206 pp]

[Text] The shift to the right, the animation of counterrevolutionary forces, the strengthening of the influence of Muslim fundamentalists on political life and many other phenomena that occurred in Egypt in the 1970s--after the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser--can hardly be explained on the basis of just certain realities of modern Egypt. The logic of scientific inquiry requires a turn to the past, to an analysis and interpretation of the revolutionary traditions of the Egyptian people and the strong and weak aspects of their struggle against colonialism and aggression. These requirements, it seems, are met by this book, which in the illumination of a number of problems is of a pioneering nature, making us look in a new way at the tendencies toward the expression of popular protest in religious form, the creation of secret political societies and extremism that are characteristic of the socio-economic life of Egypt.

The book covers the most important stages of the national-liberation struggle of the Egyptian people: we actually have before us research on the recent history of Egypt over the last hundred years. This is one of a few works in Soviet Oriental studies in which Egypt's political history is considered over such a long period. The solid source base and extensive bibliography (the author takes into account the most important achievements of both domestic and foreign Arab studies and has made use of sources and materials in Arabic) allowed V.S. Koshelev to illuminate or pose in a new way a number of disputed issues that have been either partially or completely beyond the field of view of his predecessors. Among such, the author includes first and foremost the formation of the organizational structures of the national-liberation movement, the combination of legal and illegal methods of anti-colonial struggle in the activity of various political parties and organizations, the evolution of the army patriotic movement and, finally, everything associated with the history of the anti-British underground, Egyptian patriotic emigration and religious political movements. In the aggregate, these problems typify a period of inherently anti-colonial struggle of the Egyptian people (1879-1952). A considerable portion of the book is devoted to an

analysis of the complex process of opposition to the Egyptian revolution and the counterrevolutionary forces in the time of President Nasser and national-patriotic forces and the Sadat regime in the post-Nasser period.

For the relatively small size of the monograph, the author has perhaps chosen the optimal--problem-chronological--method of setting forth the material. Some questions, such as, for instance, the diversity of forms and methods of the anti-colonial struggle, the activity of secret patriotic organizations and religious groups etc., pass through several chapters, which makes it possible to consider them in development and thereby in a historical context.

Koshelev begins his research with a description of the complex process of the origin of the first political organizations at the end of the 1870s and in the 1880s. Significant shifts had occurred in traditional Egyptian society by then: the country had experienced deep socio-economic and political upheavals caused by the penetration of European capital and growing dependence on England and France. An opposition--basically anti-foreign--movement was born in the face of the early bourgeois transformation of Egyptian society that had a tendency to form into political societies and modern-type organizations. Their appearance is considered in the book in the organic interaction of internal and external factors that had an effect on this process.

The author demonstrates the error of the versions that were long current in historiography according to which the National Party of 1879 supposedly arose based on two secret political societies (certain authors call it "Young Egypt" and others a secret society of army officers headed by Akhmed Orabi). V.S. Koshelev comes to the reasoned conclusion that the National Party of 1879 (or the Helwan Society") and the National Party of 1881-1882 were separate organizations that represented different political forces: in the first case, an opposition group of "Turkish Pashas" headed by the constitutionalist Muhammed Sherif, and in the second, a group of autochthonous representatives of the feudal-landowner class, which for the achievement of its goals was oriented primarily toward collaboration with the patriotically inclined officers of the Egyptian Army--the so-called military party (see pp 20-28).

The author also justly points out the well-known theoretical nature of the term "National Party." He writes in particular that "an important result of the latest research was a more well-defined and correct approach to defining the concept of the 'National Party,' apropos of the specific historical conditions of Egypt at the end of the 1870s and beginning of the 1880s. There can, of course, be no discussion of the existence of a political party in Egypt in the usual sense of the word for us. The different combinations, circles or simply groupings that arose then were most often called 'societies' (jamiyat). The word 'party' (hizb) was sooner employed to designate large and small groups of people who had a known commonality of socio-political interests, national aspirations and feelings" (pp 21-22). The research work in this section has great significance for understanding the historical process during the rise of the national-liberation movement of 1879-1882.

The underground national-patriotic organizations made a well-known significant contribution to the cause of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The overall picture of the anti-colonial movement would be incomplete without

a regard for their activity. "Also testifying to the urgency of the problem," notes the author, "is the fact that political forces inclined to petty-bourgeois radicalism and extremism exist in a number of the countries of Asia and Africa in our time as before. This forces researchers to turn again and again to the lessons and experience of history in order to understand many of the processes that are occurring in the countries liberated from colonial dependence" (p 5). This problem has already been resolved with regard to some countries, while for the material on Egypt it is being considered for the first time.

Depicting in detail the activity of the anti-British underground of 1910-1924, V.S. Koshelev proceeds from the fact that although it was a complex phenomenon, contradictory and not always subject to unambiguous evaluation, it nonetheless imparted a definite sharpness to the national-liberation struggle. Based on reliable facts, the author comes to the conclusion that the National Party created by Mustafa Kamil in 1907 was at the root of the anti-British underground. Right up until the July Revolution of 1952, it remained a continuously active factor in domestic political life. Various political forces were at its services--from Wafd to the royal court and former khedive of Abbas Hilmi II. The activity of the underground national-patriotic organizations reached its greatest scope during the mighty rise of the anti-colonial movement of 1919-1924. But at the same time, the bankruptcy of the tactics of individual methods of struggle were especially clearly revealed. Thus, the murder of English general Lee Stack by members of the secret organization "Society of Fraternal Solidarity" was used by the English to inflict a blow on the national-liberation movement overall. The chapter devoted to diverse aspects of the history of the anti-British underground in 1919-1924 (pp 57-93) is perhaps one of the most significant both in the novelty of the material and the grasp of the problem.

The book researches Muslim nationalist organizations such as the "Muslim Brothers" association, the "Young Egypt" society (beginning in 1940 the Islamic National Party and, beginning in 1949, the Socialist Party) and others that were striving to use Islamic principles, similar and comprehensible to the masses, to resolve acute socio-political problems. In order to answer the question of the reasons for their energetic entry onto the political scene, the author analyzes a whole set of socio-economic, political and ideological factors that typify Egyptian society in the period between the wars. Aside from the destructive consequences of the world economic crisis and the complete drama of the manifestations of the social development of Egypt, the considerable weakening of the positions of the Westernist trend in the Egyptian national-liberation movement by the beginning of the 1930s is especially emphasized. The Wafd Party, not to mention the "minority parties," turned out to be unable to resolve a single one of the socio-economic and political problems before the country. The disillusioned masses rejected the figures of a liberal-bourgeois bent. As a result, the political vacuum that formed was filled comparatively easily by Muslim nationalist groups and formations (see pp 96-99). The author feels that one of the reasons for the phenomenal ability of the "Muslim Brothers" to regenerate, notwithstanding a multitude of persecutions and bans (1949, 1954, 1965 etc.), was the exceptional flexibility of its organizational structures (pp 102, 149).

V.S. Koshelev refrained from an unambiguous evaluation of the activity of both the "Muslim Brothers" association and the specific features of "Young Egypt." Whereas the Muslim "fraternity" had practically exhausted itself by the end of the 1940s, the matter was somewhat different with "Young Egypt." It should be acknowledged that the active, although clamorous, anti-colonial propaganda of the young Egyptians had a significant effect on the formation of the patriotic moods among part of the officers of the Egyptian Army, including the future members of the "Free Officers" organization. The moral and political support of "Young Egypt" for the revolution of 1952 is not subject to question. "The fact that the principal portion of the active membership of the Socialist Party," emphasizes the author, "which, although it did not participate in the July Revolution of 1952, collaborated with the revolutionary regime, is not at all accidental" (p 110).

The pages that are devoted to the evolution of the political movement within the Egyptian Army on the eve of the July Revolution (pp 111-126) will doubtless attract the reader's attention. In connection with the attempt at a "new reading" of the history of the "Free Officers" undertaken during the Sadat regime, this topic, which has already become almost academic, has once again acquired topical interest and keenness. V.S. Koshelev, repudiating the assertions of the reactionary memoir writers in a reasoned manner, comes to the well-founded conclusion that the genuine organizer of and inspiration for the secret "Free Officers" patriotic society was Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The author feels that it is essential to make a more well-defined distinction between strictly the "Free Officers" organization and the army political movement in general. In other words, he objects to the equating that is frequently encountered, even in scholarly literature, of these two only partially coincident phenomena. The political movement in the army included a diversity of societies and groups, including those that in one way or another were used by the Egyptian reaction. The "Free Officers" movement as such, the author proves, arose in 1947, and the process of its organizational formation stretched out over two years.

The concluding chapters of the book should also be acknowledged as a creative success for the author. He has undertaken in particular a successful effort to analyze the "Sadat period" in the history of Egypt. The point is that a study of post-revolutionary Egypt of Nasser's times has basically been reduced in the works of Soviet authors to a review of the positive shifts in socio-economic and political life. Insufficient attention was devoted to the opposition of the reaction, which was serious and even fierce (this was well demonstrated in Chapter 6 using the example of the reactionary activity of the "Muslim Brothers"). The possibility of its active intervention in political life has clearly been underestimated. Moreover, the "unexpected" turn to the right showed that the counterrevolutionary forces in Egypt were able to preserve their positions. The theme of revolution and counterrevolution is undoubtedly one of the most topical problems in the study of modern Egyptian history.

In discussing the struggle of the national-patriotic forces against the Sadat regime, Koshelev draws an important conclusion on the presence of a dual type of contradictions, which were typical of Egyptian society in the second half

of the 1970s. "On the one hand, the antagonistic contradictions between the ruling circles and the true national-patriotic forces; on the other, the secondary contradictions in the bourgeois camp itself, where the Sadat group... was personified as a corrupted and parasitic part of the bourgeoisie whose interests did not always coincide with the interests of the whole bourgeois class as such" (p 173). This description contains the key to understanding the growth of the opposition forces both on the right and the left.

The fact that Sadat's removal from the political scene was accomplished by a group of Muslim extremists is an additional argument in favor of the need for more careful study of the regional factor in the socio-political life of modern-day Egypt. Nonetheless, Koshelev's research testifies to the fact that the most outstanding successes of the anti-colonial anti-imperialist struggle of the Egyptian people are associated with the activity of political parties and organizations of a secular rather than a religious thrust.

Now a few shortcomings of the book. In his research, V.S. Koshelev with good reason repudiates the erroneous version of the founding of the National Party that is affiliated with J. Landau, according to which the former was supposedly the result of the efforts of a group of officers who created the party on the basis of a secret society that had earlier arisen in their midst. The author's assertion that the treatment of J. Landau had become "the reigning one in literature," however, and the more so "for a long period of time," is incorrect (p 21). It should be noted that there exists on this issue such authoritative testimony as the memoirs of Akhmed Orabi and Muhammed Abdo, who in their recollections discuss the fact that the National Party was founded in November 1879 by a group of highly placed and knowledgeable dignitaries (primarily civilian) and representatives of the landed aristocracy, the majority of whom were Turk-Egyptians dissatisfied with the strengthening of the influence of the European states on the ruling circles in Egypt. The correctness of this affirmation of A. Orabi and M. Abdo was not doubted by a single one of the subsequent generations of Egyptian historians. Both Abdarrakhman ar-Rafii (Footnote 1) (Abdarrakhman ar-Rafii. *The Orabi Uprising and the English Occupation*. Cairo, 2nd edition, 1949, pp 70-72.)--a most major Egyptian historian of the 1920s-1960s--and Salakh Isa--the author of the seminal, most interesting and deepest historiography of the 1970s on research devoted to Orabi in Egyptian history (Footnote 2) (Salakh Isa. *The Orabi Uprising*. Beirut, 1972, pp 263-264.)--referred to these memoirs.

In the last chapter in the book, in a section devoted to the so-called May Corrective Revolution (according to official terminology, but in reality a counterrevolutionary coup, as a result of which the nominal head of state, have pushed his adversaries aside, obtained the real power of the president), it is reported that during this period Sadat "was able to neutralize the army and even organize hostile opposition and Arab Socialist Union workers' demonstrations" (p 159). The political practice of the time, however, testifies to the fact that the principal organizer of the demonstrations was the Arab Socialist Union, while the demonstrations held in those days were aimed not against the opposition and the union, but on the contrary, in support of them and against the president. (Footnote 3) (R.W. Baker. *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution under Nasser and Sadat*, Cambridge (Mass.). 1978, p 126.)

But much more important is the fact that the last word in these events belonged to the army and Sadat was not able to neutralize it (this would have been inadequate), but to enlist the support of the army command: at the critical moment it became clear that it was not the supreme commander of the armed forces or the minister of defense, but rather the chief of the general staff, supporting Sadat, that enjoyed decisive influence among the army leaders. By this time, rightist elements that distrusted the revolutionary-democratic wing of the Egyptian leadership and the close compatriots of Nasser that continued to control the Arab Socialist Union, the National Assembly and the security service, prevailed in the army. (Footnote 4) (M.Kh. Kheykal. Autumn of Rage. Vol 1. Beirut, (b.g.), pp 126-134.)

A certain fragmentary nature of the exposition should also be pointed out which is, however, completely explainable, if one takes into account the comparatively small volume of books with a broad chronological sweep of events. As an example, I refer to Chapter 5--"At the Source of the Organization of the 'Free Officers.'" Having reviewed in detail the evolution of the army political movement, the author, it seems, omitted from view one of the most important stages of the history of the "Free Officers"--the stage of their organizational composition in 1947-1949.

A series of positions expressed by the author are of a debatable nature. It is hardly possible to concur silently with the fact that immediately after the revolutionary coup of 1952, a struggle for power began between the "Free Officers" and the "Muslim Brothers" (p 133). Their relations in the first months of existence of the new regime were not hostile (an agreement on the association's support for the army's stand was reached as early as the eve of July 23). Akhmed Khamrush, for example, apropos of this time speaks of just of "hidden clashes"; "the secret undeclared war" began no earlier than 1953. (Footnote 5) (See: A. Khamrush. "Revolyutsiya 23 iyulya 1952 g. v Yegipte. Ocherki istorii" [The Revolution of 23 July 1952 in Egypt. Historical Sketches]. Moscow, 1984, pp 157, 232-235.) And only in the process of deepening and developing the revolution, as the result of an almost two-year struggle, did the revolutionary-patriotic trend headed by Nasser win victory and one of the fundamental principles of the Egyptian Revolution took shape--the refusal to grant the Islamic fundamentalists the opportunity of having any influence whatsoever on the policies of the regime.

Page 186 refers to a modern Egyptian historian whose last name is al-Bishri, not al-Bashari.

These observations are of a personal nature and do not invalidate the overall high evaluation of the book. Literature on the recent and most recent history of Egypt has undoubtedly been enriched by this valuable basic research.

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